Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-183
Monday
21 September 1992

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-92-183 *21 September 1992*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina Begin in Geneva *[TANJUG]* 2
Karadzic Terms Muslim Objective 'Unrealistic' *[AFP]* 2
Recognizes Moldova *[TANJUG]* 3
Accord Guarantees Security of Relief Flights *[TANJUG]* 3
Silajdzic Announces Muslim-Croat Coalition *[Belgrade Radio]* 3
Bosnian Croats Deny Alliance *[Belgrade Radio]* 4
Croats Abandon Silajdzic Delegation *[TANJUG]* 5
Further Rift Reported *[Belgrade Radio]* 5
CSCE To Discuss FRY Membership in November *[CSTK]* 5
CSCE Senior Officials Endorse Report on Bosnia *[TANJUG]* 5

ALBANIA

Intelligence Head Seeks Evidence Against Officials *[ZERI I RINISE 16 Sep]* 6

BULGARIA

Dimitrov Signs Memorandum on EC Border Observers *[BTA]* 9
CIS Republic To Supply Oil Under New Agreement *[BTA]* 9
Interior Ministry Official Cites Coup Possibility *[BTA]* 9
Chief of Staff Announces New Concept for Army *[BTA]* 10
Battle Over Control of Army Alleged *[KONTINENT 18 Sep]* 10
Prime Minister Reports Democracy 'in Danger' *[BTA]* 10
Spokesman Denies Claim on No-Confidence Motion *[Sofia Radio]* 11
Conference Declaration Supports Dimitrov Cabinet *[BTA]* 11
Differing Attitudes Between DPS, SDS Revealed *[BTA]* 11
Zhelev Positively Assesses Conference Declaration *[BTA]* 12
SDS Conference Proceedings Reviewed *[BTA]* 12
SDS Conference Ends; Meeting With Zhelev *[Sofia Radio]* 13

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czech Minister Discusses Maastrich Treaty Vote *[CSTK]* 14
Split 'Will Not' Affect Trade Agreement *[MTI]* 14
Klaus Denies Disputes, Differences Within ODS *[RUDE PRAVO 14 Sep]* 14
Klaus Notes 'Basic Outline' of Czech Constitution *[CESKY DENIK 16 Sep]* 15
Minister Sees Problems With Division of Embassies *[CSTK]* 15
Observance of UN Embargoes Affecting Economy *[Prague TV]* 16
Defense Minister Views Division of Armed Forces *[Prague Radio]* 16
Meciar Outlines Stand on SMENA Privatization *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 17 Sep]* 17
Doctor Reports Deterioration in Dubcek's Condition *[Prague Radio]* 17
Slovak Minister Rejects Hungarian Criticism *[Bratislava Radio]* 18
CSTK Director Protests Police Camera Seizure *[CSTK]* 18
Slovak Premier Appointed Head of Defense Council *[Bratislava Radio]* 18

HUNGARY

Foreign Ministry Welcomes French Maastricht Vote *[MTI]* 19
Antall Meets Leaders of Vojvodina Hungarians *[MTI]* 19
Romania Seeking 'Ethnically Homogeneous' Country *[MAGYAR NEMZET 15 Sep]* 19
National Democratic Alliance Party Formed *[Budapest Radio]* 20
National Democratic Federation To Become Party *[MTI]* 20
Socialist Official Views Party Successes, Position *[NEPSZAVA 14 Sep]* 21
Demonstrators Demand Resignations of Media Chiefs *[MTI]* 21
Population Required To Submit Assets Declarations *[MTI]* 22

POLAND

Officials React to French Maastricht Referendum *[PAP]* 23
EC Parliament Approves Poland Association Treaty *[PAP]* 23
Economic Minister Discusses Visegrad Memo to EC *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 12-13 Sep]* 23
World Bank To Assist in Administrative Reforms *[PAP]* 24
Central European Trade Initiative Presented *[NOWY SWIAT 15 Sep]* 24
Suchocka, OPZZ on Enterprise 'Pact' Negotiations *[PAP]* 25
Forum of Democratic Right Leaves Democratic Union *[Warsaw Radio]* 25
Former Ministers To Stand Before State Tribunal *[PAP]* 25
Goryszewski: Army Officers Will Not Be Vetted *[PAP]* 25
Departure of Army Officers Causes Concern *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Sep]* 26

ROMANIA

Yugoslav Border Crossings 'Practically' Closed *[TANJUG]* 28
Foreign Ministry Official Assesses Strategic Ties *[ROMPRES]* 28
PDAR Program Emphasizes 'Agrarian Question' *[ROMPRES]* 28
Presidential Candidates View Role, Status of Army *[ROMPRES]* 29
Citizens Abroad Can Vote in Elections *[ROMPRES]* 30
Electoral Bureau on National Observers, Returns *[ROMPRES]* 30

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Presidency Comments on Croat-Muslim Relationship *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Presidency Expresses Support for Army Chief *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Serbian Official Threatens 'State of War' *[TANJUG]* 31
Serb Army Commander Comments on Croatian Forces *[TANJUG]* 31
Conference Calls For 'All' Muslims To Fight *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Sarajevo Radio Reports Gorazde 'Free' 32
Death Toll in Brcko Napalm, Gas Raid Reaches 42 *[Zagreb Radio]* 33
Around 3,000 Serbs "Missing" in Konjic *[TANJUG]* 33
Krajina Source Claims Muslims Slaughtered Croats *[Belgrade TV]* 33
Shelling Continues; Epidemics Spreading *[Zagreb Radio]* 33

CROATIA

Tudjman Departs for New York; Makes Statement *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Government To Revise Agreement With Slovenia *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Serb Community Claims Human Rights Abuse *[TANJUG]* 34
Embassy To Open in Bosnia-Hercegovina *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Incidents Reported in UN Protected 'Pink Zones' *[NOVI VJESNIK 6 Sep]* 35

SLOVENIA

Ethnic Hungarians Seek Help To Preserve Identity *[MTI]* 36
German Envoy Discusses Slovene EC Integration *[Ljubljana Radio]* 36

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Panic Addresses Nation on Current Situation *[Belgrade Radio]* 37
Panic Comments on Sanctions, U.S. Ties *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
Panic Interviewed on UN Membership, Prevlaka *[TANJUG]* 41
Prime Minister Meets Serbian Opposition Leader *[TANJUG]* 42
Ambassador Terms UN Action 'Dangerous Precedent' *[TANJUG]* 43
President Reiterates Views on Prevlaka *[Belgrade TV]* 43
Minister Says No Food Shortage Expected *[TANJUG]* 43

Kosovo

Rugova Interviewed on Conference Results *[Tirana Radio]* 44

Montenegro

President Voices Support for Panic *[TANJUG]* 44

Macedonia

Greece Sets Condition for Oil Supplies *[TANJUG]* 45
Greece Denies Violating Macedonian Air Space *[TANJUG]* 45

International Affairs

Talks on ending the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina within the Conference on Yugoslavia began in Geneva on 18 September, TANJUG reports. According to AFP, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated: "The Moslems have the unrealistic objective of having all of Bosnia-Hercegovina to themselves, to dominate Croats and Serbs," and he "proposed the partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina into a 'confederation' of three states—one for Bosnian Serbs, one for Bosnian Croats and the other for Bosnian Moslems." Belgrade radio reports that Haris Silajdzic, foreign minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, aroused controversy when he announced that the Muslim and Croatian delegations would appear as a "joint" government delegation. This was "categorically rejected" by Croatian leader Mate Boban, who noted that two members of the Muslim delegation had joined the Croatian delegation, and he accused Silajdzic of "trying to destabilize the Geneva talks."

Yugoslavia

Federal—Prime Minister Milan Panic assessed his first two months in office in an address to the nation carried live by Belgrade radio on 20 September. Commenting on "avoiding" an expulsion from the United Nations, Panic said: "I expressed readiness to launch a procedure in our country for our Assembly to adopt a decision to apply for membership in the United Nations; basically to ensure the continuity of membership; i.e., to apply for membership in several months when all conditions for our automatic and unconditional admission are fulfilled. Our membership would not be terminated in the meantime."

Bosnia-Hercegovina

According to Sarajevo radio, the information service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency issued a statement "concerning the organization and activities" of the Bosnian Army in the southern areas of the Republic. The statement said: "The repeated misunderstandings between Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units in the municipalities of Stolac, Capljina, Trebinje, and Neum and the Bregava Brigade has not contributed to the struggle against the aggressors." It added: "The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency expresses hope that similar misunderstandings will in the future be avoided in the interest of a successful struggle against the occupation forces."

Bulgaria

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and UK ambassador, Mr. Richard Thomas, signed a memorandum of understanding between Bulgaria and the EC on stationing EC observers in the regions along Bulgaria's border with former Yugoslavia, BTA reports. "I am happy that we affixed our signatures to this document, which contributes to the efforts to establish stability in the Balkans and bears the hope for the achievement of such stability," Dimitrov stated.

Poland

PAP reports that Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski, commenting on the Maastricht referendum in France, said that "a weak French 'yes' vote would mean that the question of Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak integration with the EC would be of less importance for the present membership since the 12 would become preoccupied with their own affairs."

Talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina Begin in Geneva

LD1809184992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1621 GMT 18 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Excerpt] Geneva, September 18 (TANJUG)—The co-chairmen of the international Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, opened the talks on an end to the civil war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH) and a new state system for BiH in Geneva on Friday [18 September] with a meeting with the delegation of the Croatian community in BiH, headed by Mate Boban.

Vance and Lord Owen—who are conducting the indirect talks between the three national communities in BiH through separate meetings with representatives of those communities—met with the delegation of the Serbian republic in BiH, headed by Dr. Radovan Karadzic, at 11:00 hours Geneva time.

The delegation of the Muslim side did not show up for the meeting with Vance and Owen, which was scheduled to start at exactly noon. The head of the Muslim delegation, Dr. Haris Silajdzic, informed the conference co-chairmen that he was not able to come for the meeting from his hotel without the other members of the delegation, who he said had not arrived in Geneva yet. Dr. Silajdzic is the foreign minister of the rump BiH Presidency, in which there are no legally elected Serbian representatives.

The indirect talks are being held within the working group for Bosnia-Hercegovina of the international Conference on Yugoslavia which started work in London in late August and then moved to Geneva. [passage omitted]

Karadzic Terms Muslim Objective 'Unrealistic'

AU1809160492 Paris AFP in English 1534 GMT 18 Sep 92

[By Chris Lefkow]

[Text] Geneva, Sept 18 (AFP)—Talks aimed at ending six months of bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina opened here Friday [18 September] with a stinging broadside against the Moslem-led Bosnian government from Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

"The Moslems have the unrealistic objective of having all of Bosnia-Hercegovina to themselves, to dominate Croats and Serbs," Karadzic told a press conference after his first meeting with mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. He proposed the partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina into a "confederation" of three states—one for Bosnian Serbs, one for Bosnian Croats and the other for Bosnian Moslems.

Vance, the U.N. special envoy, and Owen, the European Community representative on former Yugoslavia, met separately Friday morning with the Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat delegations. Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic was also scheduled to meet Vance, Owen and Marti Ahtisaari, head of the working group on Bosnia-Hercegovina, but the talks were delayed until later Friday because the departure of the remainder of the Bosnian delegation was held up due to heavy fighting in Sarajevo.

Vance and Owen, the co-chairmen of the Geneva peace conference on former Yugoslavia, are meeting separately with each delegation because of the refusal of the Bosnian government to sit at the same table as the Bosnian Serbs. Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic initially refused to attend the talks while fighting was still going on but relented and sent his foreign minister.

"We came here to do everything we can to establish an immediate and unconditional peace," Karadzic said.

"But the Moslem side is still refusing to talk face-to-face and that is the main problem.

"I will talk to anyone who wants to talk."

Karadzic said it was "easier to talk with Croats because we know what they want."

Conference spokesman Fred Eckhard said another round of separate talks would be held with Vance and Owen on Saturday.

Karadzic, who represents the self-proclaimed "Serbian Republic of former Bosnia-Hercegovina," said he was ready at the negotiations here to make "any concessions that are consistent with our survival and freedom." Karadzic said he was ready to discuss "up to 20 percent" of territory held by his forces, who control roughly two-thirds of the former Yugoslav republic.

The delegations also held talks Friday on humanitarian issues with U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata. The U.N. suspended relief flights to Sarajevo after an Italian transport plane was shot down on September 3 and is considering imposing a "no fly" zone over Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnian Serb leader said he was in favor of the resumption of aid flights and is "ready to accept no fly zones in the corridors of humanitarian flights."

Karadzic said between 60,000 and 70,000 Serbs were trapped in Sarajevo, besieged for six months by Serbian forces and tens of thousands of others were being held as "ethnic hostages."

The Bosnian Serb leader accused Croatia of sending 60,000 regular troops to fight in Bosnia-Hercegovina and said "Croatia should be put under sanctions if we want to stop this war." The Bosnian Serb leader also said there were "between 2,500 and 3,000 Islamic mercenaries" fighting alongside Bosnian government forces.

"Many Islamic countries are involved in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Iran and Turkey are the main weaponry suppliers," he said, adding that Bosnian forces were also receiving arms from Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Egypt.

At one point, Karadzic reached into his briefcase and pulled out the tails of exploded mortar rounds which bore Arabic lettering. He also displayed what he said were NATO rations, Argentine-made cartridges and a gruesome-looking knife which he said was "a Moslem weapon for killing Serbs."

Silajdzic, the Bosnian foreign minister, had strong words of his own as he arrived for the talks with Vance and Owen. He accused Bosnian Serb forces of carrying out a massacre in the town of Foca, southeast of Sarajevo.

"We've heard today that 200 prisoners in the town of Foca have been killed by Serbian terrorists," he said. "It's obvious that the aggressors want the physical annihilation of prisoners, and they're doing it."

Silajdzic said a release of prisoners and the resumption of humanitarian aid would figure in his talks here. "We fear that the winter will take tens of thousands of innocent lives," the Bosnian foreign minister said.

Asked why the Bosnian Government was refusing to hold direct talks with the Bosnian Serbs, Silajdzic said: "We have no mandate from our citizens to talk to war criminals."

Recognizes Moldova

LD2009155792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1206 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Leader of Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic has said that the best way to stop the war in this former Yugoslav republic would be to annul the decision on the recognition of its independence and to recognize three states within its borders.

"The best way of stopping this war is to de-recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina and to recognize three states within it," he told reporters in Geneva last night. [passage omitted]

Karadzic heads the Serb delegation at the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Palais des Nations in Geneva. He told reporters on Saturday [19 September] evening that Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists as a state entity. The former Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina has no parliament, no territory, it has no control over any territory, he said. We now have three entities in Bosnia-Hercegovina: the Serb republic, the Croatian entity of Herceg-Bosnia, and a territory which should probably belong to the Muslim national community, Karadzic explained.

Karadzic confirmed to reporters that the Serb side in Bosnia-Hercegovina had proposed bilateral talks with Croats and Muslims. It is his assessment that it is much easier to end the hostilities between Serbs and Croats because their objectives are the same—each nation wants its own state.

It is much more difficult to bring about peace with the Muslims, Karadzic assessed, because they have unrealistic goals. The leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs accused Muslims of wanting to have all of Bosnia-Hercegovina under them in order to dominate over it.

Karadzic told reporters that the government of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina had recognized the independence of the Russian Moldavian Republic. The Russian Moldavian Republic is in a similar situation as the Serb republic, Karadzic underscored in Geneva last night.

Accord Guarantees Security of Relief Flights

LD1909191292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 19 Sep 92

["Pool" item]

[Excerpt] Geneva, September 19 (TANJUG)—The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Sadako Ogata, recommended immediate resumption of humanitarian flights to Sarajevo, capital of the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH), on Saturday [19 September], after representatives of the three national communities in BiH signed guarantees on security for the flights.

A protocol on the guarantees was signed by the head of the Muslim delegation to the international Conference on Yugoslavia in Geneva, BiH Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic, the leader of Bosnia-Hercegovina Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, and the leader of the Croatian community in BiH, Mate Boban.

The agreement was the first concrete result of the indirect talks on BiH which were resumed in Geneva on Friday with the Geneva conference co-chairmen, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, as the intermediaries. [passage omitted]

Silajdzic Announces Muslim-Croat Coalition

AU1909150092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Even though it is a Saturday, a series of separate talks between the co-chairmen of the international conference, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, and the delegations of the three Bosnia-Hercegovina national communities has resumed. Arriving at the Geneva Palace of Nations just before noon, Radovan Karadzic said during a brief meeting with journalists that the Republic of Serbia has recognized Moldova, while Haris Silajdzic, after his talks with Vance and Owen, slightly pompously announced that the Muslim and the Croatian delegations will appear as a joint, as he said, government delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Our special correspondent Zivojin Jerotijevic reports from Geneva:

[Jerotijevic] A series of talks in the group for Bosnia-Hercegovina began at around 0900 this morning with talks with the Muslim delegation, but the details are not known yet. However, the head of the Muslim delegation Haris Silajdzic, after his meeting with the factions of the international Conference on Yugoslavia, within which the group for Bosnia-Hercegovina also works, stated that soon there will be not three, but two negotiating sides: the delegations of the Republic of Serbia and the delegation of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

He explained this by saying that many Bosnia-Hercegovina parties are represented in the government delegation, including two Muslim, Croat, and Serb representatives. Silajdzic said that Mate Boban will soon join the government delegation, but did not say whether this also applies to the members of Boban's current negotiating team.

Unless this is an empty propaganda phrase aimed at creating confusion in the delegation of the Republic of Serbia, it could cause additional complications, for, above all, not only has this kind of coalition been envisaged, but it was even prohibited at the London conference as it disqualifies the key fundamental assessment that there are three national communities involved in the dispute.

After all, a solution for the end of the war is being sought on this basis. Therefore, a coalition between any warring sides against the third side would undermine the concept of the international conference and the measures for ending the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the combination announced by Silajdzic, the Serbian side would, of course, be harmed the most, not from the military, but from the state-legal point of view. This annuls the idea of a canton-confederal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which, in fact, means that the Serbs would not have the status of a constituent element in their republic, and thus the right to equal representation in the organs of authority, but the status of a national minority with the rights that stem from the international community's norms on minorities.

Of course, this is far short of the minimum that the Serbian side could possibly accept. With this maneuver, therefore, the Serbian side is being pushed into being a destabilizing factor and is being deprived of the opportunity, at least from the formal legal point of view, of implementing the statement made by Radovan Karadzic yesterday, which indicated the possibility of creating a completely independent Serbian republic if the war does not stop and if the peace talks in Geneva do not produce results compatible with the mandate of the Serbian delegation.

Fred Eckhard, spokesman for the two co-chairmen, stated at this morning's briefing that the Muslim delegation has signed a memorandum that it agrees that necessary conditions for the resumption of humanitarian aid should be ensured. He expressed the belief that the same will be done by the Serbian and Croatian sides this afternoon. However, Eckhard refused to comment on Silajdzic's statement on the Muslim-Croatian coalition, stressing that this issue is strictly within the competences of the negotiating delegations. [passage omitted]

Bosnian Croats Deny Alliance

AU1909175692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Zivojin Jerotijevic report from Geneva]

[Excerpt] Haris Silajdzic, head of the Muslim negotiating team, stated this morning that the tripartite talks in Geneva would soon become bilateral because a Muslim-Croatian coalition would be formed, and thus, a single delegation from the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Silajdzic said that this delegation, in addition to two Muslims and two of Alija Izetbegovic's Serbs, Lazovic and Pejanovic, would also include two Croats and a special place was being reserved for Mate Boban.

A meeting between the Croatian delegation and members of the international group for Bosnia-Hercegovina, started at 1500. Afterwards Mate Boban held a news conference.

In reply to a direct request to comment on the two national communities joining against the third, Boban categorically rejected such a possibility, stressing that two members of the Muslim delegation, Mariofil Ljubic and Miljenko Brkic, parliament vice chairman and a minister in the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, respectively, had joined the Croatian delegation in Geneva. It was obvious that Boban has heard Silajdzic's propaganda invention, and he came to the news conference accompanied by Ljubic and Brkic.

There is no logial reason for such behavior by Silajdzic. However, if one bears in mind the fact that the Muslim side's position is becoming increasingly weaker, largely due to the fact that the truth is gradully reaching the world—and the truth is no ally of Izetbegovic—one could assume that with this media bombshell, Silajdzic was trying to destabilize the Geneva talks and cancel out everything that has been achieved thus far, especially since it appears that the Muslim side cannot fulfill the conditions established at the London conference.

The Muslim side has not silenced its heavy weapons. It has not stopped attacking the Serbian army and the civilian population. It is not even thinking of improving conditions in the detention camps. It is not closing the channels for arms smuggling, nor stopping the recruitment of foreign mercenaries. With this set of demands—on which Vance and Owen are being particularly insistent—there is nothing for the Muslim side to gain at these negotiations, and thus Silajdzic has clearly decided to sabotage them.

The meeting with the delegation from the Serbian Republic, which started at 1700, has not ended yet. [passage omitted]

Croats Abandon Silajdzic Delegation

LD1909193192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1731 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Geneva, 19 Sep (TANJUG)—Two high-level Croat officials, members of the Silajdzic delegation, Mariofil Ljubic and Miljenko Brkic, in Geneva today abandoned Silajadzic and joined the ranks of Mate Boban's Bosnian Croat national delegation. This was a blow to Izetbegovic's unitary concept for solution of the Bosnian crisis.

Tonight, following the second round of talks with Cyrus Vance and David Owen, Mate Boban, the representative of Bosnian Croats, stated that the two Croats—one of them a member of the Izetbegovic government [Ljubic] and the other the minister for religion [Brkic] of this government—understood that they could not "reach consensus."

Mate Boban explained to journalists that their standpoint was that "the three national communities have the power to stop the war in Bosnia, while the Bosnian Government does not have that kind of power."

The Muslim delegation at the Geneva negotiations presented unitary standpoints, and this was illustrated by its composition—two Croats, two Muslims, and two Serbs.

Further Rift Reported

AU2009144692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] After Mate Boban's denial that he will join the Muslim delegation at the Geneva conference, Haris Silajdzic's team is facing a total rift, SRNA reports. Not only have Mariofil Ljubic and Miljenko Brkic joined the delegation led by Mate Boban, but Mirko Pejanovic, a Serb in the so-called delegation of the Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has also offered his good services to the delegation of the Serbian Republic led by Radovan Karadzic.

CSCE To Discuss FRY Membership in November

LD1909162992 Prague CSTK in English 2044 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 18 (CSTK)—A decision on whether or not Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) re-joins the activities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) will be made in November, a CSCE official told journalists tonight. Jan Kubis, the chairman of the CSCE Senior Officials' Committee, was speaking after a three-day committee meeting ended in Prague.

Under a July decision of the CSCE senior officials Yugoslavia was to re-join the CSCE on October 14.

Kubis said the committee also decided to send long-term observer missions to the regions of Kosovo, Vojvodina and Sandzak. The missions are expected to be sent there within three weeks, Kubis said. He added that the CSCE is considering a permanent presence in those regions until the crisis is completely settled.

All senior officials condemned the violence in former Yugoslavia but some delegations presented a too black-and-white vision of the reasons of the conflict, Kubis said. In his opinion the CSCE should play the main part in attempts to solve the crisis. Firstly, because the other institutions do not have enough money or interest, and secondly, because the parties to the conflict trust CSCE activities and favour them, Kubis added.

The committee recommended Dutch diplomat Max van der Stoel for the post of CSCE high commissioner for the minorities. His appointment will be definitively decided by the CSCE Council of Ministers in Stockholm in December. Max van der Stoel was the foreign minister of the Netherlands in 1973-77 and in 1981-82.

CSCE Senior Officials Endorse Report on Bosnia

LD1709153792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2251 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Prague, Sept. 16 (TANJUG)—The committee of senior officials of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), after a daylong discussion adopted on Wednesday [16 September] night a report by its mission to Bosnia-Hercegovina. The mission, set up at its previous meeting in Prague a month earlier, was investigating the situation regarding human rights "with particular reference to detention camps."

In acquainting journalists with the mission's activities and findings—having endorsed its report at the close of the committee's first day in session—U.S. representative in the U.N. Human Rights Commission Ambassador Kenneth Blackwell stated that concrete and firm suggestions, to be adopted, would be binding for all parties to the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict.

Said Blackwell: Camps in Bosnia-Hercegovina differ only in who is inside them—those who took part in armed actions, or men who only possessed arms, or those who happened to be in a war zone and were detained. The camps also differ in terms of numbers of forcefully held persons. As for brutality, however, not one side is lagging behind.

The mission ascertained "massive human rights violations" that left no doubt that the detainees were absolutely unsafe, no matter whether the camps were under Serb, Croatian or Moslem control.

Blackwell said the mission toured 21 detention camps, points or prisons. The mission's report said that in the different "forced detention camps," 6,894 Moslems, 837 Serbs, and an unspecified, and as was said "very small" number of Croats were held.

Intelligence Head Seeks Evidence Against Officials

AU1909200192 Tirana ZERI I RINISE in Albanian 16 Sep 92 p 1, 3

[Luan Pobrati article: "Bashkim Gazidede, Chairman of National Intelligence Service, Seeks False Testimony Against Deputies, Politicians, and Intellectuals"]

[Text] Through television and the press the public has been informed about the statements by Deputy Azem Hajdari, who says: "Bashkim Gazidede imprisons people and asks them at Elbasan Prison to testify against deputies or groups of deputies, thus violating parliamentary immunity."

Thanking Azem Hajdari for the truth that he, within his prerogatives as chairman of the Parliamentary Commission of Defense, National Intelligence Service [ShIK] and Order, asserts, a truth not "gathered here and there" as someone said in the parliament, but explained by the author of these lines, I want to inform the people of what has happened, not by misunderstanding Mr. Hajdari, but by correcting him. I say that Bashkim Gazidede, the ShIK chairman, imprisons people and asks them to give false or unsubstantiated testimony against deputies or groups of deputies. So much the worse if they "have" evidence, but not what Mr. Gazidede wanted and asked for. Consequently, Mr. Gazidede did not succeed in getting what he wanted and he received what he did not want.

When Did I Know Mr. Gazidede and What Did He Ask of Me?

First Meeting

He was appointed the ShIK chairman after I left, but I was "lucky" and got to know him nine days after I was arrested. Concerned about my health, he shook hands with me and introduced himself. I thanked him for the visit and was waiting...

"You," he began to speak, "have directed the operative intelligence work at the university for a long time and know many intellectuals. Appointed as deputy general director of tourism for security, you have had the opportunity to know them better. That is, I have come here because I need your help. Meanwhile, he stood up saying: "I am not wearing any bugs."

I smiled a little, and feeling sorry for him, replied: "Do not worry, there is no problem. I believe you came here as a 'friend,' but it would have been better for both of us to record our conversation.

"No, no," he said. "Trust me. These are very dangerous things."

"Look, he concealed what he really wanted to say," I thought. "Let us wait and see what worries him?"

He took off his jacket and sat down. He asked, speaking brusquely: "Arben Imami [former member of the Democratic Party (PD) National Council, recently expelled] has been your collaborator, hasn't he? What was his pseudonym? Did you recruit him after he wanted to escape abroad?"

I lowered my head so as not to see the eyes of Bashkim, who sought evidence to destroy his party. To dissuade him from this wickedness, I threw in a word implying something else: "It is good that you came here, because I wanted to know you. I know Arben. I do not have any sympathy for him, and neither does he for me. However, he has not been an Intelligence Service collaborator. At least, he had not been one of mine.

"What I say," Gazidede continued, "is true. You have nothing to lose if you confirm it. If you do so, I guarantee your release from this prison."

Insulted but calm, I told him: "I think that you are interested only in the truth."

"Yes," he replied.

"What if the truth lies in what I say?," I said.

"You confirmed this long ago, and you will suffer no consequences now," he concluded.

"The problem is then very simple. You bring the witness testifying that I have confirmed such a thing to me, and Arben Imami himself," I said.

"What about Gramoz Pashko [former PD co-founder, recently expelled]? Has he been your collaborator?

"Others have persecuted Gramoz Pashko for political propaganda."

"He has been your collaborator," Gazidede insisted.

"No," I answered. "He has not."

"How is it possible that he was not?," he asked, surprised.

Cornered by his insistence, but without being malicious and sincerely wanting to help him make no further mistakes, I said: "You should not ask me about such problems, particularly when you do not believe me." Insulted by the harm he wished to do to my character, I continued: E. Goxhi worked as director of the Records Department at the Interior Ministry. Goxhi contributed to democracy, regardless of his former extremist support for monism. You should ask him and B. Hakrama, who dealt with the management of this department and is presently working at the ShIK. Ask them to tell you how the Records Department functioned and you will learn the truth, confirming what I have told you. I do not believe what has been said about the files of this department disappearing.

Bashkim put his fists on the table and rested his forehead on them: "I will not help you because you are not sincere," he said.

"I have not asked for your help. On the contrary, you came to me. Nevertheless I am being serious with you.

"Do you know the president?," he asked.

"Yes," I replied. I know him and I have seen in him the devoted doctor who attracted me with his morality. I owe him for the care he gave my parents.

Mr. Gazidede did not expect such an answer. With other thoughts in mind, he continued: "Is this the real impression you have of him...?"

Surprised by his astonishment, I answered calmly: "Yes." After he seemed to feel that he had made a mistake, he added: "Does he make any mistakes?"

"He may make mistakes," I said. "I described him as I know him. I may have opinions contradictory to his. Naturally."

"Do you sincerely have contradictory opinions?," he lowered his voice.

"I would think that granting dual nationality to any foreigner who asks for it, I do not mean the diaspora, weakens the dignity of our people and country.

He did not say a word. He turned his head to the window and stared out in silence for a while. He then stood up, and after advising me not to talk with anyone, said: "I will verify your statements."

He came back six days later.

Second Meeting

It was getting dark when he arrived. I sat down, and to calm him, said: "I hope you verified what I told you." "Sadly," he replied: "'Records have disappeared from the department.' You should help us. I will take you out of prison."

"I agree," I told him, "but I cannot be dishonest. I have honestly told what you have asked me for.

"I have been told that you are open, and I am confident that you will not hesitate." He then asked me directly: "Has [PD Deputy] Maqo Lakrori been your collaborator?"

"No." I said.

"What about Kastriot Islami [former chairman of People's Assembly Presidency and now a deputy]?"

"I do not know him," I replied.

"What about [Socialist Party Chairman] Fatos Nano?"

"As far as I know, the State Security pursued him for keeping materials of propaganda.

"Can we find these materials," he asked.

"I do not think so, as they are nullified years ago."

"Has [Social Democratic Party Chairman] Skender Gjinushi been a ShIK collaborator?," he asked again.

"I have not had him."

"What about [Republican Party Chairman] Sabri Godo?"

"I do not know," I replied.

"Do you know Neshat Tozaj [former ShIK official, later sided with democrats, author of novel *The Knives*] and was he pursued by the State Security?," he then continued.

"I know Neshat. He maintains his own stand. I do not believe he has been persecuted."

"Has he testified such a thing?!"

"I do not know." Reprimanding him with a "smile," I replied: "You are asking me as if I have been interior minister myself. Perhaps you misunderstand my sociable nature concerning intellectuals, artists, publicists as it relates to my profession. Perhaps you may have learned that my acquaintances and friends, if not my weak points as well, are found within these environments, but I am related to them socially and spiritually, and you, as a spiritual man, should not mix things."

"That is right," he said, "but we are talking as friends and you should not be bothered by this. The persons I am asking you about have worked within the environments in which you exercised your profession."

"I am not disturbed," I said, "but you cannot go to the house of espionage, as espionage cannot come to you. One cannot walk along the streets with it."

In what he heard, the ShIK chairman felt that there had been a digression from what really interested him. After a little pause, he asked: "What connects [former ShIK Chairman] Irakli Kocollari with [former Democratic Party Deputy] Neritan Ceka ...?"

"I personally do not like Irakli. I have expressed my own opinions about problems related to work. It is a fact that he had welcomed his friends' remarks and behaved maturely toward them. He is a cultured man. This connects him with Neritan."

Cynically he added: "Is culture associating them with Mitro Cela, Teodor Keko, Gramoz Pashko, Prec Zogaj [intellectuals]?"

"That is true," I said.

"Do you know that Neritan Ceka has been a witness against someone who was sentenced?"

"I know nothing about it, but I have read something in the press about his polemics with Abdi Baleta.

"Okay," he finished his talk. "I am leaving. Thank you."

He put his hand near his heart, somewhere in the middle of his chest, like all religious believers, and left...

Days passed. I stayed in the cell. The pretext was for carrying an unlicensed weapon. Where was the weapon? It was no surprise to me that it stayed for days in the safe of the chairman of the Elbasan Public Order Department. I still remained in prison. I felt sorry that he, like me, would perhaps be arrested for the same crime, as he in fact was carrying an unlicensed weapon, though his superiors knew about it. Was I not accused of the same thing? However, I was keeping my father's weapon, what about him keeping mine?...

The investigator himself felt surprised. Why did the chairman of Public Order Department keep this pistol in his safe, while this evidence should be in his office?...

This is obvious. The pretext for the arrest disguised the real motive, which is related, besides what I previously explained, to the third visit of Mr. Bashkim Gazidede.

Third Meeting

This time he seemed to me more mature professionally. He informed me about the dismissal from the PD of those who presented the motion. After he explained to me in detail everything about the stand of Deputies Arben Imami, Perikli Teta, Natasha Lako, Gramoz Pashko, and Arben Demeti, he told me about Azem Hajdari, pointing out that he was joining them. Meanwhile, he told me about a quarrel he had with him and telephone surveillances.

I interrupted him several times by saying: "You do not need to try to hypnotize me." His "tactics" were obvious. He wanted to do away with my "fear" and indirectly tell me that these deputies landed in the trash pile, that is why I should speak, not hesitate.

"Mr. Gazidede," I spoke.

"Wait," he interrupted. "If up to now I have told you that I will release you from prison, now I swear in the name of God that if you help us, you will not only be released from prison, but I will arrange for you to meet the president and help you with everything."

"I cannot understand what you are saying," I continued, "but I can give you my opinion. I cannot agree with your suspicions. By saying this, I do not want to interfere in the problems you explained. These people have their own values and merits, and it is not good to gossip about them in investigation offices or cells.

"That is right," Gazidede retreated to start again, "but it is just as true that no police rubber truncheon struck Azem Hajdari."

"Azem did not care about cannons, and now you are mentioning rubber truncheons. What did the others suffer? Concerning the time you are speaking about, do you think that the police hit [Democratic Party Chairman] Eduard Selami and Arben Lika, excluding Azem?... No, this is not fair."

"Do you know that in the first PD conference Azem Hajdari did not vote for Sali Berisha to be elected chairman?," asked the ShIK chairman.

"I did not know this," I answered, "but I know that before and after that conference Berisha and Hajdari were together and they each have their own good qualities."

My attitude in refuting Gazidede's logic obliged him to try hard to convince me that Hajdari is not as I see him. He persisted in trying to defeat me. That is where I see the "argument," which could never be such, when he said:

"Do you know that Hajdari has been to prison and has met [former Interior Minister] Hekuran Isai?"

"I did not know this either," I replied. "What I know is that the way you act is not good."

"Do you think," he asked hurriedly, "that if I ask Hekuran Isai to help me, he will do so?," handing me a cigarette.

"I do not understand why you would do this," I spoke while lighting the cigarette, "but I do not think he will help you. You have accused him of other things."

This conversation was changing for the worse. Gazidede sensed this and decided to change the subject.

"Do you know any reporters?," he asked.

"Yes, certainly."

"From ZERI I POPULLIT or KOHA JONE," he asked anxiously.

"I do not distinguish them according to their papers," I replied with a smile.

"Have any of the reporters been ShIK collaborators?"

"No," I said, "because operative espionage work was not allowed in the news media."

"But they have graduated from the university, haven't they?"

"If they had been recruited, they should have been expelled from the espionage network as soon as they were appointed to positions in the news media," I said.

"Okay, okay. Tell me: Have Brahja, Koci, Lani, or others such as [the reporters] Gjidede, Lesi, Ballauri been recruited?," he said. Others as Bujar Lako, Timo Flloko, Ardian Klosi, Edi Rama, and Besnik Mustafaj did not remain beyond his interest.

"I know some of them, as Pavllo Gjidede, Remzi Lani, Besnik Mustafaj, and Bujar Lako are my friends," I answered.

He lowered his head and did not speak. He was playing with something in his hands, but they were not a string of beads.

"You are wily," he said, "it does not matter..."

"If you finished," I broke the silence, "please do not insult me any longer. I have not asked for your help."

Departure

He stood and left. He did not come any more.

Concerning what I previously explained, I feel no remorse in my conscience. I did what I could. I did not allow my honesty, the truth, to be trodden on. My difficult position did not prevent me from defending myself from such wickedness as someone trying to push me toward taking my own life.

I owe Gazidede nothing, except two packages of cigarettes.

I apologize to everyone for participating in this gossip about people, against my will and contrary to the laws. Meanwhile, I want to remind those who may forget that we have worked and fought together for democracy, regardless of who enjoys its fruits today. From the position that life has given me, I will keep democracy away from the mockery they want to make of it today, and preserve it as I have liked and honestly accepted since its very beginning.

Dimitrov Signs Memorandum on EC Border Observers

AU1809161392 Sofia BTA in English 1356 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—Today Bulgarian Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and the ambassador of the United Kingdom in Sofia, Mr. Richard Thomas, signed a memorandum of understanding between the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria and the European Community on the stationing of a mission of EC observers in the regions along Bulgaria's border with former Yugoslavia. The ceremony was attended by the leader of the mission of EC observers in Zagreb, Mr. Melius [spelling as received]. Mr. Thomas signed the memorandum in his capacity as representative of the country now presiding the EC.

"I am happy that we affixed our signatures to this document, which contributes to the efforts to establish stability in the Balkans and bears the hope for the achievement of such stability," Mr. Dimitrov said after the signing ceremony. He thanked all EC member countries which showed understanding and responded to this wish of Bulgaria. Mr. Thomas pointed out that the document signed today is an important measure for strengthening confidence in the Balkans. According to Mr. Thomas, the agreement reached between Bulgaria and the EC has "cut many Gordian knots" in the bureaucracy of the West European countries.

The mission of observers will arrive in about two weeks. At first it will be comprised of four people, who will later be joined by an additional group of 20 observers. A representative of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry will be attached to them in order to assist the implementation of their tasks. The mission will be stationed at eight points from Lom to Kulata and will observe the development of the situation.

CIS Republic To Supply Oil Under New Agreement

AU1809164492 Sofia BTA in English 1301 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 16 (BTA)—Today the Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Bashkortustan signed an intergovernmental agreement on trade and economic contacts.

Bulgarian Minister of Trade Aleksandur Pramatarski said that the agreement is a continuation of the treaty signed with Russia on August 4, 1992. Thanks to this agreement Bulgaria will receive oil in quantities considerably greater than the quota previously planned by the Russian Federation. The first shipments of 50,000 to 70,000 tonnes of oil are expected to arrive within one or two months. Mr. Pramatarski said that the signed document is of great importance from the political point too, as an exponent of the policy pursued by the government for establishing direct contacts with the separate republics of the CIS. On the other hand it provides a legal and economic basis for promoting trade and economic contacts between the companies of the two countries. It was pointed out that the possibilities for cooperation are not exhausted by oil deliveries because the agreement provides for a wide area of interaction mainly through barter transactions.

The vice-premier of Bashkortustan, Mr. Boris Bichkov, also made a high assessment of the agreement. Mr. Bogoslav Sandurski, director general of the Bashneft Company, which undertook to deliver oil to Bulgaria, pointed out that Bashkortustan is showing particular interest in Bulgarian equipment for oil production and processing.

Contacts have also been established with Chimimport, the Chavdar plant in the town of Botevgrad, the Metalni Konstruktsii (metal constructions) Plant, Electroimpex, Machinoexport and Bulgartabak, in which the Bashkortustani side showed interest. The contracts will be fulfilled in compliance with the generally accepted rules of international trade without any restrictions of a discriminatory nature whatsoever and the payments will be made in convertible currencies.

Interior Ministry Official Cites Coup Possibility

AU1809170692 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—The old State Security may attempt to stage a coup, said Chief Secretary of the Ministry of the Interior General Bogomil Bonev, speaking at a news conference here today. All national services concerned with security were represented at the news conference. The Ministry of the Interior needs stabilization, its staff is the target of all sorts of rumours, it lacks reliable job security guarantees, General Bonev emphasized.

There are no conditions for a coup in this country, General Stoyan Andreev, national security adviser to the president, told the same news conference. In his view, the Army and the police are loyal to the president and the government.

For his part, Mr. Arlin Antonov, director of the National Security Service, believes that the employees of his service have lost faith, the service is 50-60 per cent understaffed and nothing has been done to train new personnel for two years now. According to Mr. Antonov, not all employees of the former State Security should be removed, as they did not serve directly the Communist Party functionaries. He protested the dismissal of employees without his consent.

The chief of the National Investigative Service, Mrs. Ani Kruleva, said that in the coming days the investigating authorities will issue an indictment against the assassin of Georgi Markov.

The lack of a state criminal justice policy impedes crime control, according to National Police Force Director

Viktor Mikhaylov. He argued that 33,000 perpetrators have been proved guilty in the last six months, but as few as 8,200 are serving time in prison. Seven thousand five hundred cases against known criminals have been dropped. Mr. Mikhaylov himself did not take part in the dismissal or appointment of regional police chiefs. "Who is running the police?" he asked rhetorically, and answered that "appointments and dismissals are carried out on the suggestion of the regional governors in coordination with the local coordinating councils of the Union of Democratic Forces" (the ruling coalition).

"The National Intelligence Service has information that one of the advisers of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov is involved in arms business," Intelligence Service Chief General Brigo Asparukhov told the same news conference. He will make available information on the matter to President Zhelyu Zhelev and Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

At today's conference of the ruling coalition, however, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said: "We hope that the confrontation between the individual institutions will be avoided. Other institutions are trying to exert pressure on executive branch officials." Mr. Dimitrov did not elaborate. The prime minister went on to say that "before the news conference this morning there was an intense political contact on the part of the president. This would create difficulties in our relations with the president," Mr. Dimitrov said.

Chief of Staff Announces New Concept for Army

AU1809164592 Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—The command of the Bulgarian Army has drafted a concept of its development in the 1992-2000 period, Chief of General Staff Colonel General Lyuben Petrov told a news conference here today. The subject of the news conference was the state of the Armed Forces, arms trade and production, national security, and the police. Under the concept, the Armed Forces will shift to a professional basis, conscription will be 12 months, and the officers training system and the recruiting system will be replaced. General Petrov said the process of army depoliticization is completed and repoliticization should not be allowed as this would be dangerous for democracy. The delay of the passage of the Armed Forces Act holds back the reform in the Bulgarian Army, the chief of General Staff believes. He voiced concern over certain attempts to disunite the servicemen.

Battle Over Control of Army Alleged

AU2109101592 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 18 Sep 92 p 6

[Dragomir Draganov commentary: "Battle for ... Army"]

[Text] Usually, the task of the Army is to conduct battles, or better, to serve as a deterring force so that no one will dare to attack it. However, it appears that a battle over the control of the Army has begun in Bulgaria.

At first glance, the problem has clearly been resolved by the Constitution: The Army has a supreme commander in chief, namely, the president of the Republic. Therefore, one should view the public claim that the Republic's basic law "creates a chaos on the issue of the supreme commander's prerogatives," as simply a smoke screen.

Even civilians understand for what purpose the smoke screen is being used. Perhaps the smoke screen is not sufficiently thick. The intentions are more than obvious—to place the Army under the control of the government through laws that interpret the Constitution precisely as the Devil interprets the Holy Scriptures.

One again notices the wicked practice of enacting laws that target a specific person, rather than an official post. Today President Zhelev became uncomfortable to the leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces, and became a sufficient reason for attacking presidential prerogatives. According to this logic, if tomorrow the president became comfortable again, the prerogatives could be restored. If anyone thinks today that this strengthens democracy, it would appear that he has been confused by the terminology. As far as the Army is concerned, when a battle for its control is conducted, it could appear to be incapable of fighting or checking aggressors. Such armies are usually used for coups. Does Bulgaria need such an army?

Prime Minister Reports Democracy 'in Danger'

AU1809193392 Sofia BTA in English 1917 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 18 (BTA)—In the afternoon today the parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) which defends the rights of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria introduced a motion of no confidence in Filip Dimitrov's government, the Union of Democratic Forces floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov told the press.

Later this evening, however, National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov denied that the DPS had submitted such a motion.

Yesterday the parliamentary Movement for Rights and Freedoms together with other MP's (a total of 83) demanded the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov. Addressing parliament this morning, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov predicted that the DPS's next move would be to press for the resignation of the cabinet, and added that democracy in this country is in danger.

Spokesman Denies Claim on No-Confidence Motion

AU1809204192 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] On Bulgarian Television Channel One's program called "Review" this evening, Yunal Lyutfi, spokesman of the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS], rejected as untrue the assertion by Aleksandur Yordanov, chairman of the parliamentary group of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces], that today the DPS submitted a motion for a no-confidence vote in the cabinet of Filip Dimitrov. However, Mr. Lyutfi added that, in accordance with the possibilities provided by the Constitution, the DPS will probably call for a no-confidence vote in Prime Minister Dimitrov next week.

Conference Declaration Supports Dimitrov Cabinet

AU2009130092 Sofia BTA in English 2225 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—The cabinet headed by Filip Dimitrov and its policy received support from the conference of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), which opened yesterday. The conference adopted a political declaration point by point. "The cabinet's policy needs updating, not changing," the document says. The SDS is in favour of a dialogue with all noncommunist forces in this country. The declaration says the SDS has not changed its positive attitude towards the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), "regardless of the unexpected turn in its leadership's conduct."

The conference decided that if a no-confidence vote is passed on the prime minister and the cabinet, the SDS will again ask Filip Dimitrov to form a cabinet. SDS members will not enter a coalition government.

"The entire responsibility for the future social and political instability lies with the parties and the individuals, who will try to overthrow the first democratic, lawfully elected Bulgarian government after almost 50 years of communist misrule," the political declaration says. The participants in the forum insist that the SDS-affiliated parties and organizations withdraw cabinet ministers who do not support and do not put into practice the cabinet's decisions. The document says that parties and organizations in the SDS highly praise National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov for his performance so far and pledge to support him. The motion for his early dismissal is described as unwarranted. It is said to be "an element of a comprehensive plan for political destabilization" and is seen as running counter to the national interests. The SDS political conference obliged Stefan Savov not to resign. If he is dismissed from his position, the SDS will not nominate its representative for the chairmanship.

The conference declared itself in favour of a dialogue with all noncommunist democratic forces in this country supporting the coalition's programme for a replacement of the system. "The SDS retains its positive attitude towards the DPS in spite of the unexpected turn in the political conduct of the DPS leaders," the declaration says. It claims that only the SDS can really protect the rights and freedoms of all minorities in Bulgaria. The SDS insists on faster decommunization in this country. The SDS political conference calls on the cabinet and the parliamentary group of the SDS to set a high priority on social legislation and acts on taxation and education during this session of parliament. The document expressly states that a decision on the declassification of police files should urgently be debated and voted at a plenary sitting.

The SDS insists that the competent bodies reveal the whole truth about the case in which a foreign embassy was reported to hold a list of the secret service agents in the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry, for which allegations were made against Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and DPS leader Ahmed Dogan, about illegal arms deals, and about the reasons for which the president's foreign policy adviser Zdravko Popov was dismissed recently after a private visit to Lebanon.

The document calls for the urgent setting up of a parliamentary commission to investigate certain aspects of the activity of the National Intelligence Service and the National Security Service. The document, whose final part was adopted early on September 20, also says that the SDS is in favour of trade union pluralism and of a dialogue with all trade unions, provided they do not make political demands. In conclusion, the declaration says the ruling coalition insists on the decommunization of the Bulgarian Eastern Orthodox Church.

The political declaration of the SDS conference was signed by the representatives of all parties in the coalition.

Differing Attitudes Between DPS, SDS Revealed

AU1909202592 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Orlin Dzhelepov report]

[Text] Sofia, September 19 (BTA)—Most delegates to the political conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today focused on the choice between negotiations with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), the trade unions, and the president as a means of overcoming confrontation, and following a firm policy and holding new elections. The conference of the leaders of parties and organizations affiliated to the ruling coalition, which started yesterday, is preparing a political declaration.

SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov, Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov, and other speakers proposed that a contact group be set up to negotiate with the DPS, until now an ally of the SDS in parliament. In the last few weeks the DPS repeatedly insisted on a "cabinet overhaul" or formation of a new cabinet of the SDS. On

September 17 the DPS made a motion for the early dismissal of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov (chairman of the Democratic Party affiliated to the SDS).

It was also proposed that a contact group clear up relations between the SDS and President Zhelyu Zhelev. Yesterday Dr. Zhelev walked out of the conference two hours after its opening, saying that the delegates had been disloyal to him.

The Democratic Party was most strongly opposed to the idea of negotiations with the DPS. No negotiations must be held before the DPS leaders realize the SDS is the only force which can defend the DPS electorate, said Georgi Markov, deputy chairman of the Democratic Party. He described as "anticonstitutional" and "antinational" the attempts to oust the cabinet and the National Assembly chairman. According to Georgi Markov, the SDS should seek cooperation with extraparliamentary anticommunist forces. The SDS should state clearly that it does not want elections now because they will be ruinous to the country.

Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov said that certain facts point to an organized scenario against the SDS and its government. According to him, it is not clear yet whether the DPS is a co-author or had been involved in its execution. A week ago a deputy governor of an international bank in which, according to Mr. Sokolov, the Podkrepa Labour Confederation had been depositing profits from illegal deals, told a senior official of the Interior Ministry that the Bulgarian Government would fall. The minister of the interior said a conversation had been recorded, with a prosecutor's warrant, between a security service officer and a criminal, who complained he was "in great straits." The security service man told him not to worry because the cabinet would fall within a week. Yordan Sokolov stressed that there are ulterior motives behind the demands for Mr. Savov's and the prime minister's resignations and proposed that "an open dialogue start with the DPS" and that "the movement show its cards." If the DPS acts against Bulgaria's interests, if it is opposed to reforms and democracy, the SDS can no longer be its ally. The same applies to President Zhelev, Interior Minister Sokolov said.

Delegates to the conference also raised the question of the declassification of secret service agents' police files. Stefan Savov, National Assembly chairman and chairman of the Democratic Party, said that if a motion for declassification was put to the vote in parliament, it would be defeated. "The real agents' police files have been taken away," Stefan Savov said.

Zhelev Positively Assesses Conference Declaration

AU2009193192 Sofia BTA in English 1909 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev sees signs of political wisdom and political realism in the political declaration of the conference of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) that ended here today. He made this assessment in an interview for National Television this evening.

The SDS is in for grave difficulties unless it secures maximum broad-based support for its policy, the president said. He said he noticed a certain "progress and signs of political wisdom and political realism" in the document of the political conference. It raised for the first time the question of a dialogue with the extraparliamentary democratic forces. Dr. Zhelev believes the SDS should further develop the idea of dialogue before it can be put into practice. The ruling coalition should win support from the trade unions, the extraparliamentary forces, the church, and private business.

At the same time, Dr. Zhelev said the declaration tended to identify the problems of the SDS with certain individuals, such as Stefan Savov, Filip Dimitrov, Zhelyu Zhelev, while its problems were much more complicated and should not be personified. The SDS declared that it would not nominate another person for the chairmanship of parliament if the incumbent Chairman Stefan Savov was dismissed and that it would ask Filip Dimitrov to form a new cabinet if a no-confidence vote was passed on the present cabinet. Dr. Zhelev discussed neither the intention of the SDS to negotiate with the president nor the relations between the ruling coalition and the president.

President Zhelev explained why he had walked out ot the SDS conference two hours after its opening. His demand for public openness had not been met, he said, "the office of the president and the dissident past had openly been slandered without any proof," and none of the participants had disagreed with these attacks.

SDS Conference Proceedings Reviewed

AU2009202992 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 20 Sep 92

["SDS Seeks Dialogue With President and DPS"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 20 (BTA)—The parties and the organizations affiliated to the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) are unanimous on the coalition's immediate strategy. There will be no radical changes in it.

The conference of the ruling coalition, which started on September 18 and ended today, approved of the idea of a dialogue with the president, who is critical of the SDS, and with the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which moved for the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov and threatened with a vote of no-confidence in Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov.

For the first time after its election victory in October 1991, the SDS decided to establish close contacts with

the extraparliamentary anticommunist forces. The participants in the conference mentioned the two Agrarian Parties and the Bulgarian Business Bloc as possible partners of the SDS.

At a news conference today Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov stated he would not change the cabinet if parliament passed a vote of no-confidence on the present cabinet. "The SDS policy will not change and I do not see why I should replace the cabinet ministers," Mr. Dimitrov said. The conference today set up two contact groups to negotiate with the president and with the DPS. "Sound reason is a guarantee of the dialogue," the prime minister said, asked by journalists about his expectations from the negotiations. He stressed that a rift between the SDS and the other democratic organizations would be against Bulgaria's interests.

Relations between the SDS and the DPS became strained when the leadership of the parliamentary faction of the DPS moved for a vote of no-confidence in National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov. The SDS declared at its conference that there has always been understanding between the SDS and the DPS. Inadequate coordination was the cause for the present problems. "No one can drive a wedge between the DPS and the SDS," said SDS floor leader Aleksandur Yordanov. "We are ready for cooperation because the DPS stands for principles we ourselves have advocated," Filip Dimitrov said.

A date for negotiations with the DPS has not been fixed yet. According to Yordan Vasilev, they can start as soon as the DPS is ready for them. The president was approached about negotiations today but he declined, saying that Sunday is a holiday.

The SDS conference today discussed the union's structure but made no changes. Ivan Kurtev, leader of the Social Democratic Party of the SDS, was elected chief secretary of the SDS. He will perform administrative and intra-coalition functions and will act as Coordinating Council chairman when the holder of this position is absent.

SDS Conference Ends; Meeting With Zhelev

AU2009160892 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] The three-day conference of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] that took place at Sofia's Vitosha hotel has ended. Our reporter Olga Ivanova reports:

[Ivanova] The news conference following the SDS conference is about to end. Let me briefly tell you what has been said so far.

Working groups that will conduct talks with the president and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] have already been formed. Contact with the president has been established via a telephone conversation, in which he said that today is a day of rest for him, and that he could meet the SDS representatives tomorrow.

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov assessed the SDS conference. He said that at this complex political moment he was convinced that all parties and movements within the SDS will align so as to be able to implement together the only possible step to overcoming the crisis. According to his assessment, the position assumed by the SDS is useful and efficient.

As far as the SDS structures are concerned, they were discussed thoroughly today. The same applies to the prerogatives of the SDS National Coordinating Council and the regional councils. No decision was adopted. All proposals will be reviewed by a special commission that will summarize them, and then a specific decision will be adopted.

According to Mrs. Elka Konstantinova, the letter of Vice President Blaga Dimitrova was highly regarded by all the participants in the conference, because in a well-meant and noble tone the letter spelled out the entire truth about the present situation and pointed out the necessity for unity. The confident tone of the letter and the conviction in the possibility of finding a solution inspire the participants in the conference with confidence.

As far as the talks with the president are concerned, a question was asked on what basis these will take place. The reply was: on the basis of the constitution and mutual respect.

Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov also said that there is not a single person in the country who could say that the DPS adopted the positions of the Communists. Therefore, one should not talk about a new government. There is also no reason to talk about a velvet revolution. Actually, the prime minister maintains that no one could push a wedge of contradictions between the SDS and the DPS. No personal contradictions, but rather principled misunderstandings are involved. He is sure that an understanding can be achieved.

I have just received the latest news. According to this, after the necessary clarifications the participants in the SDS political conference agreed on the membership of the delegation to meet Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev. It comprises Mr. Ivan Kurtev, the newly elected SDS chief secretary; Svetoslav Luchnikov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and ministers of justice, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, and Dimitur (Korudzhiev). Afterwards the conference elected the commission that will conduct talks with the DPS. It also is led by Ivan Kurtev. The same commission will organize a SDS rally on Tuesday, 22 September. In this context, I must say that accusations were leveled at Mr. Georgi Markov that this will be an antirally. He replied that if it is an antirally, then it is only an anticommunist one. He wanted his statement to be broadcast on Bulgarian radio.

Czech Minister Discusses Maastrich Treaty Vote

LD2109092792 Prague CSTK in English 0708 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 21 (CSTK)—The Czech economics minister, Karel Dyba, told CSTK last night that the French vote in favour of Maastrich Treaty on Sunday [20 September] is the voice for which Europe had been waiting.

We shall see whether it will really produce the expected turn towards assertion of the treaty. For the time being it is difficult to say what the developments will be like, Dyba said.

In any case the referendum result will be interpreted in Europe as a step towards greater stability, especially after what happened on European currency markets last week, Dyba said.

He was referring to the devaluation of the British pound, the lira and the peseta, and Britain's suspension of the pound from membership of the ERM [exchange rate mechanism].

The French vote of 50.95 to 49.05 per cent will probably mean that the road towards a monetary union in Europe and towards greater integration on the continent will continue to be followed, Dyba said.

He does not think that the referendum result will immediately affect Czechoslovakia's economy.

Split 'Will Not' Affect Trade Agreement

LD1809222292 Budapest MTI in English 1811 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—The separation of Czechoslovakia will not effect the preparation of a Czech-Slovak-Hungarian-Polish free trade agreement, concluded talks between Czechoslovak and Czech government officials and Hungarian International Economic Relations Ministry officials in Brno, Czechoslovakia.

Reporting on the talks, held by the ministry's acting state secretary Lajos Berenyi, ministry sources said the free trade agreement is expected to take effect as of 1 january 1993. The preparatory talks are to be lead by representatives of Czechoslovakia's Federal Government but Slovak and Czech government officials will actively contribute to the work.

At the meeting, the Hungarian delegation and Czech government officials agreed to start talks in early October on concluding a comprehensive agreement system, including a trade and payment agreement, an investment protection agreement and one on the avoidance of double taxation.

This year, Czechoslovak-Hungarian trade, with its accounting fully convertible, exceeded last year's by 50 per cent, reaching USd 445 million.

Klaus Denies Disputes, Differences Within ODS

AU1809144792 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Robert Dengler in Marianske Lazne on 12 September: "I Would Not Have Expected To See You at a Golf Tournament..."]

[Excerpts] "I would not have expected to see RUDE PRAVO at such a bourgeois sporting event," said Vaclav Klaus, patron of the Playboy Charity Challenge Golf Tournament held in Marianske Lazne on 12 September, to our reporter. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Klaus granted RUDE PRAVO an interview in front of the Golf Hotel between watching part of the tournament and going off to play tennis.

[Dengler] You said recently that you do not see any disputes or factions within the Civic Democratic Party [ODS]. Looking at the party from the outside, however, I discern radical views and conservative views. A decision should be made on party posts prior to the ODS congress in November. Would it be an overstatement to say that the party is heading for a battle over posts?

[Klaus] This is indeed an overstatement. The ODS is, without a doubt, a large political party—it is not a club like some of the small parties where everyone has known each other for a long time—and each individual in it holds his own views and emphasizes different things. There is no dispute here. The ODS has representatives in many different institutions and, of course, each one—nolens volens—begins to play that institution's card, for example, in the Czech and Federal Governments, in the parliamentary clubs, and so on. This is why there are sometimes differences between what this or that ODS representative says. I do not think this involves any battle or dispute, however. Certainly, there is no dispute between radicals and conservatives. The Federal Assembly deputies are, undoubtedly, uncertain about what will happen to them. Czech National Council deputies do not have this feeling of uncertainty and, as a consequence, the two groups—logically—behave a little differently. I do not think there is any difference between them in the normal sense of the word. It has more to do with their involvement in their role.

[Dengler] Can someone play a "departmental" role, although he belongs to the party?

[Klaus] You play a departmental role completely automatically. All of a sudden, your partners are not only x-number of colleagues in the ODS, but 500 civil servants with whom you live and work hard every day. So, of course, you naturally begin to use a different vocabulary.

[Dengler] I asked because part of the opposition is beginning, I think, to send signals that Klaus would be more acceptable for the Czech Republic's future than anyone else. It is beginning to differentiate.

[Klaus] It is logical that when you are a deputy and have no other voice than a deputy's voice, your contribution—naturally—has to be more unidirectional and more unilateral, emphasizing one thing. Consequently, you are more inclined toward something. If you are speaking in the role of chairman of a political party, you inevitably speak in a more general manner. Again, there is no point in looking for a major dispute here. It is natural to differentiate between roles. If someone is interior minister, all of a sudden he begins to talk more about security issues, which Klaus does not emphasize so much; this could look like a difference. If someone is a member of parliament's Defense and Security Committee, he inevitably talks about different things—about the intelligence services and about the poor distribution of jurisdiction in this sphere; however, this is not an ideological dispute within the ODS. This is simply a differentiation between the roles we play in the posts we hold.

[Dengler] Has the ODS coordinated its views on the method for terminating the Federation? You did not want to talk about it in Libohost last week, then you inclined toward an agreement between the national councils, and on 10 September, Petr Cermak expressed his support for a declaration by the Federal Assembly....

[Klaus] I said in parliament on 11 September that it would be better if this legitimate body made this decision. Whether I think this is realistic is another matter, however. Or, this is what I would like, but, as a realist, I see an agreement being reached between the national councils.

[Dengler] After the coalition and opposition have crossed swords in the Federal Assembly, do you think the proposed constitutional laws on the methods for terminating the Federation will finally be passed?

[Klaus] Look, after two and a half years of parliamentary life I have managed to understand a few things and I know that the extremely strong rhetoric of some able deputies who like to put on a show is one thing. Voting is another thing. For example, if a Martian were to land here and assess the approval procedure for the state budgets, after a three-hour debate he would have the impression that this law will certainly be rejected en bloc. Then comes the vote—I have experienced this three times with budgets—and he would ascertain that the numbers are a little different. So, there is no precise correlation between the performing deputies and voting. In other words, let us wait and see.

[Dengler] Thank you for the interview.

Klaus Notes 'Basic Outline' of Czech Constitution

AU2009162192 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 16 Sep 92 p 2

[CSTK report: "The Prime Minister on the Constitution"]

[Text] Prague—Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said in a radio interview that the existence of a draft Czech constitution in the form of individual articles preceded by general principles is a step forward. "There are 83 articles and we will continue to argue about, develop, and improve each one of them, but the basic outline is there," he said. In connection with the draft Czech constitution's relationship to the Charter on Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, he said it would be enough to adopt a far more limited charter that "guarantees one single thing—a free democratic state." Klaus referred to the speech, described as conciliatory, that he made to the Federal Assembly on 11 September. He said he sees no other possibility for living in this country other than on the basis of consensus.

Minister Sees Problems With Division of Embassies

AU1809115492 Prague CSTK in English 2239 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Brno Sep 16 (CSTK)— There will be long-term problems with the division of Czechoslovakia's embassies between the Czech and Slovak Republics, but both independent states will be in the same situation at the beginning, according to Czech Minister of International Relations Josef Zieleniec.

We will live at first like a married couple who have separated but still live in the same apartment, Zieleniec said here tonight during a discussion at the Press Club Czechoslovakia.

He emphasized that up to now the principle holds that where the ambassador is a Czech, his deputy is a Slovak, and vice versa. He said, however, it is important to determine the proportion of political nominations to nominations on the basis of professional promotion. Zieleniec said he wants to preserve a proportion typical in democratic countries, where approximately 30 percent of the ambassadors are political appointments.

On the question of cooperation with the Slovak Minister of International Relations Milan Knazko, Zieleniec said he had only met Knazko at the discussions between the ODS [Civic Democratic Party] and HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia]. Remaining affairs are being attended to at a lower level, Zieleniec said.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 17 September on page 2 carries a 100-word "fil"-signed report on Zieleniec's remarks at the Brno Press Club. Asked about territorial disputes between the two republics, Minister Zieleniec replied: "There will be a minimum of territorial problems between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. For the time being, we are only aware of a proposal concerning the reregistration of an insignificant number of hectares of pastures and meadows and one concerning the 'transfer' of one railroad station from Moravia to Slovakia. I think

that all problems will end at that, which is why, in my opinion, one cannot even speak about real territorial disputes."

[Zieleniec's statements in Brno are also the subject of a 300-word CSTK report on page 2 of Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 17 September. The report adds: "As regards the Czech Republic's full-fledged integration into the EC, Josef Zieleniec sees a horizon of eight to nine years for it. The so-called Visegrad Three is, in his opinion, an obstacle to European integration. This association of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia came about for the sole purpose of building mutual solidarity in the face of the Soviet danger, which has now largely disappeared."]

Observance of UN Embargoes Affecting Economy

LD1909030592 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] The Economic Committees of the Federal Assembly today recommended that the chambers give their consent to the agreements with the United States and China on the promotion and protection of investment. These two agreements were signed at the end of last year. Vladimir Rudlovcak, deputy federal minister of finance, stressed during the debate that Czechoslovakia should be as pragmatic as possible when establishing economic contacts with the outside world.

He added that the CSFR has been observing its international obligations concerning embargoes—for instance, against Serbia, Montenegro, and Iraq. These obligations, however, constitute a serious economic problem that is difficult to resolve.

Defense Minister Views Division of Armed Forces

LD2109090592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Interview with Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak by correspondent Lubomir Zumar on 18 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Zumar] Minister, at the meeting with graduates of our military academies as well as at a briefing held this week you stressed that the main task of our Armed Forces at present is not to let them become a source of tension and to ensure that they remain non-partisan. What in your view should the main political forces and legislative bodies do to help this process?

[Andrejcak] Great expectation frequently bordering on nervousness within the ranks of professional soldiers has been caused unequivocally by uncertainty. For this reason, to settle as soon as possible the constitutional question, what will happen with the CSFR and therefore what will in turn happen to the Armed Forces is the main thing that we expect from our legislative bodies.

[Zumar] Of late we have been witnessing more negative rather than affirmative attitudes to the so-called defense union between the two newly established independent states. Do you think that the idea of common defense has been now definitely buried?

[Andrejcak] The defense union, as it has been talked about, is one of variants of possible solutions. Of course, in order to have a union or any solution it is necessary to have a certain political will. If influencial voices are being heard at present rejecting this idea we have to respect it, and the probability of choosing this variant is therefore a question of the future. We have to react to what will be placed before us as a task.

[Zumar] In this connection do you think that the process of dividing the Armed Forces can be achieved by 1 January 1993 or is this a process which starts somewhere and ends with something?

[Andrejcak] We can really look at the division of the Armed Forces from various angles. It is very important for us now to resolve some literally legalistic issues of how the law or certain treaties should look like, what clauses they should have to prevent people being harmed in the course of the division. The thing is that the Czechoslovak Armed Forces have, for instance, one battalion as well as a whole number of observers abroad. We have a whole number of functions to perform linked with material responsibilities. We have practically in all units professional soldiers of the Czech and Slovak nationality. In order for them to hand down their functions and in order for them to decide in accordance with their will where they are going to serve a certain amount of time is needed. We are at present seeking the right arguments which we will put forward [passage indistinct] or to set the date of the division until the command is really established. When this document is ready we will put it forward and I hope that it will be respected.

[Zumar] It is known generally that military installations and training areas are situated on the territory of each republic, whether they be training centers, which all armed forces need. Do you expect that there is going to be good will for their common contractual use?

[Andrejcak] After evaluating the possibilities and weighing up the essential need for specialized installations we are convinced that this will happen. We do not envisage that relations between the Czech Republic and Slovak Republic will have cooled so much in the future to prevent cooperation and mutual use. Of course, their joint use is economically more advantageous than building new installations. This can been demonstrated also on the example of the professionalization. We all want it and since the introduction of professionalization in the first two years represents, according to price relations of last year, an expenditure amounting to 3 billion korunas and therefore the process of professionalization has to be postponed to a more appropriate time. This is also the case of training installations. The building of new repair shops, firing ranges, and training installations require large expenditure within a short period of time. If a republic does not allocate such funds

then it is more advantageous for the armed forces to find such installations in one of the neighboring states. At present I do not see a better option than to provide such services mutually.

[Zumar] Let us look from this viewpoint at the course of the redeployment. Are you satisfied with it and where do you see priorities to speed it up?

[Andrejcak] The redeployment as it was included in the original program has been implemented. The redeployment on the basis of the government's policy statement, which means the redeployment of a section of the air force, the redeployment of a section, a relatively smaller one, of the air defense, but mainly the transfer of stocks is a complicated process which requires expenditure. In order, for instance, to cut expenditure we are seeking intensively spare buildings which will be able to accomodate material that is being transferred or which needs to be transferred without having to incur additional investment costs. Of course, it will be most advantageous for us to receive a sufficient amount of funds to enable this process to be as short as possible. The pace of the redeployment of the air forces is exclusively an economic issue.

[Zumar] On 17 September you gave the reminder that the division of the Armed Forces by 1 January 1993 is not possible to achieve in the case of the air force. Can it be expected in this case that a treaty between the Czech and Slovak Armed Forces to safeguard Slovakia's air space will be concluded?

[Andrejcak] Since the Air Force indeed cannot be transferred without modern aircraft paying for it in terms of their technical state, we have proposed a treaty between the republics, between their armed forces—and we have even concluded that this treaty should be at a level of a parliamentary treaty. Of course, all that is included in the treaty is cooperation between both armed forces and not a common defense. In that case we will have approached some kind of a union, and therefore the question of the common defense of our air space cannot be separated from the Armed Forces. Either there is a certain element of a union and they there can be also a common defense of the air space or it will not be and then its defense will be a separate one.

[Zumar] One of the sensitive questions about which you have talked is the problem of the possibility of a service of citizens of the Czech nationality in the Slovak armed forces and visa versa of Slovaks in the Czech ones. As a defense minister which path do you see as being the most feasible in this respect?

[Andrejcak] The sole path is to define as soon as possible in the law of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic conditions for state citizenship and conditions of the military service. This cannot be done earlier. We have proposed it to be very liberal but in what way the legislative body will define it I cannot say at present.

[Zumar] You are therefore at present giving the priority to the civic principle?

[Andrejcak] Naturally, nothing is preventing each citizen to decide where he wants to live and work and where he will have the best conditions of service, and I believe that we cannot blame them.

[Zumar] Minister, thank you for the interview.

Meciar Outlines Stand on SMENA Privatization

AU2109085392 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 17 Sep 92 p 1

[Report on an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Karol Wolf on 16 September; place not given: "Vladimir Meciar Discusses SMENA"]

[Text] According to SMENA Chief Editor Karol Jezik, it is somewhat odd that the Slovak Government is concerning itself with nonexistent economic fraud in the DENNIK SMENA company. According to him, DENNIK SMENA is the only link in the entire chain of property belonging to the former Socialist Youth Union [SSM] that is making a profit. In the second half of this year alone, SMENA has paid the Slovak Foundation for Children and Youth 3 million korunas, which, as we have ascertained, covered all the losses suffered by the foundation's hotel facilities.

As the Czech Government has decided to privatize the former SSM's property, we asked Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar what the Slovak Government intends to do in this connection. "In view of the violation of the regulations governing property disposal, the government has instructed the minister to replace the foundation representatives who are responsible. DENNIK SMENA's position is rather complicated because whoever privatizes it will take out the cream and leave the rest as it is. I personally find it very hard to believe that the former SSM's property is unprofitable. In my opinion, it could be extremely profitable."

In reply to a question on his view of the fact that the Slovak Prosecutor General's Office—instructed by Culture Minister Dusan Slobodnik to reinvestigate the property-related and legal discrepancies in the SMENA shareholding company's establishment—has not come up with anything substantial, the prime minister said the following: "The Prosecutor General's Office operates independently and the government operates independently. The shortcomings we uncovered have been made public and there is no reason to change them. No one has proved that our claim is wrong. The government is right."

Doctor Reports Deterioration in Dubcek's Condition

LD1809192592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Excerpt] Alexander Dubcek's condition has deteriorated after an operation. The head of the anesthetics

department at Na Homolce Hospital in Prague said that Dubcek is in a coma. The consultant said Dubcek's postoperative condition is worse than had been predicted by doctors, and he ruled out another operation in the next few days. He also said Dubcek is not capable of being transferred to a hospital in Brno. [passage omitted]

Slovak Minister Rejects Hungarian Criticism

LD1809211192 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1500 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Milan Knazko, deputy prime minister of the Slovak Government and minister of international relations, held a news conference today at which he described statements by representatives of the Hungarian Consulate General in Bratislava as well as those by some Hungarian sportsmen on police intervention at the Slovan-Ferencvaros soccer match as ill-judged and hasty.

He said he did not consider Hungarian fans present at the match to be decent ones. On the contrary, according to him they brought objects that should not be at soccer matches.

Therefore, he said, the Slovak Ministry of International Relations is drafting a verbal note that will express great alarm regarding the anti-Slovak hysteria in the Hungarian mass media. He is convinced, however, that these reactions will not result in a worsening of bilateral relations between the Slovak Republic and Hungary. Milan Knazko went on to stress that the entire investigation of the affair is within the powers of the police force.

CSTK Director Protests Police Camera Seizure

AU2109121092 Prague CSTK in English 1906 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Prague [dateline as received]—CSTK General Director Tomas Kopriva today asked Slovak Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna to investigate and draw conclusions from the course of Wednesday's [16 September] police action against football fans at a match between Slovan Bratislava and Ferencvaros Budapest during which a CSTK photographer was attacked and hurt and the film from her camera seized.

Kopriva in his letter said he expects Tuchyna to openly express regret over the improper action, and demanded that the film containing shots from the clash between special police units and the fans be returned to CSTK.

Slovak Premier Appointed Head of Defense Council

LD2009025592 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] The Defense Council of the Slovak Republic met for its debate today in a new composition. Premier Vladimir Meciar was appointed to the post of council chairman; he also chaired the meeting. Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac was appointed deputy chairman. Economic and Industry Minister Ludovit Cernak, Finance Minister Julius Toth, Interior Minister Jozef Tuchyna, Transport and Telecommunications Minister Roman Hofbauer, and Julius Humaj, commander in chief of the East Military Command, became members of the council.

The Defense Council has critically assessed the status quo in fulfillment of the main tasks in the area of defense, security, and protection of Slovakia. It also became familiar with the status quo in the reorganization and the relocation of troops on the territory of the Slovak Republic.

Foreign Ministry Welcomes French Maastricht Vote

LD2009210492 Budapest MTI in English 1951 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 20 (MTI)—The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is glad to learn the majority of French voters said "yes" to ratifying the Maastricht treaty at a 20 September referendum, a ministry communique says.

In the ministry's view, the referendum was a milestone in building a unified Europe resting on a basis of democracy and solidarity.

The referendum proves that France will continue to be a committed protagonist in pan-European progress and European integration.

Hungary hopes the strengthening integration and the referendum result will promote Hungary's full integration into Europe, the communique says.

Antall Meets Leaders of Vojvodina Hungarians

LD1809160492 Budapest MTI in English 1432 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 18 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on Friday [18 September] met the leaders of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina.

Democratic Community President Andras Agoston, Vice-President Janos Vekas, and Presidium members Ferenc Pap and Bela Csorba are currently in Hungary for a brief visit.

Discussions were held on processes taking place in the South Slav republics and the international efforts aimed at resolving the crisis.

The sides agreed that caring for refugees cannot serve ethnic cleansing or the changing of nationality proportions in Vojvodina.

The Hungarian government acts according to the Constitution also with regard to the Hungarian minority in Vojvodina when it feels responsible for the fate of Hungarians living beyond its borders.

Also in this constitutional spirit, it strives to have the national and ethnic minorities mutually recognized with the neighbouring states as state-forming factors.

Romania Seeking 'Ethnically Homogeneous' Country

AU1809135392 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 15 Sep 92 p 6

[Editorial by Istvan Kocsis: "Mysterious Transylvania"]

[Text] The current situation in Transylvania appears to be mysterious and incomprehensible. Can we understand the backstage secrets of Romanian policy, secrets expertly hidden by a well-placed smoke screen? Both the Hungarians in Transylvania and Hungarian policy will remain helpless in their struggle against the aggressive Romanian nationalism if they are unable to recognize the hidden and mysterious connections and if they are unable to understand the causes and effects. For example, we must realize that one of the most relentless oppressions of national minorities on our planet could occur in Romania not because there was no sign of democracy in that country's political life; there never was and still is no democracy in Romania because the nationalist-racist ideology has always been quite strong here. In the spirit of this ideology, Romania has been trying to carry out the elimination of Hungarians living in Transylvania and the eastern regions of the Tisza River, as well as of other national minorities living in that country.

This nationalist-racist ideology is Daco-Romanism [reference to the ancient kingdom of Dacia]. As a theory, it resembles the Nazi, or fascist ideology, but it is not identical. It appears to be impenetrable because its most talented followers are doing their utmost to conceal its real image. In this ideology, everything is identical and everything is its own opposite. That is the only way it can survive and the only way it can remain secret. It is the only racial ideology that has continued to gain strength since World War II. This Daco-Roman ideology made it compulsory for every Romanian to take a political position, and it could easily have the most tragic consequences because, among other things, this Daco-Roman theory denies the right of self-determination to any other nation except the Romanians in an arbitrarily determined region (including the Carpathian Basin toward the West, at least up to the Tisza River). In other words, a nations' right to self-determination is not accepted in this region; only native rights can be asserted. However, given the fact that international law denies native rights and recognizes the right to self-determination, the Romanian nation sees it as its sacred responsibility to eliminate the gap between these two concepts, which, of course, means nothing other than the complete Romanianization of the areas declared Romanian on the basis of native rights.

One can even describe the Daco-Roman ideology in stronger terms because it also means that the Romanians can commit anything against the non-Romanians in the Carpathian Basin and the territory of the old Dacian province of King Burebista any time; for example, the Romanians should neither accept responsibility nor feel any guilt about cultural genocide. In other words, the advocate of the Daco-Roman theory is breeding a murderer. And there are different aspects to this theory. It also teaches that lying is a virtue and telling the truth is foolish. Thus, the false Daco-Roman continuity is truth, and the real Romanian native history is foolish. Subsequently, it is not shameful to deny and offend the real

Romanian prehistory (the Romanian native homeland in the Balkan Peninsula). With a Hungarian mind, this is more incomprehensible than anything else. The only thing that might be even more incomprehensible is the type of this Daco-Roman religion that is questioned even by its own priests, while blind adherence is demanded of the followers, like the blind adherence the leaders of Vatra Romaneasca demand of the members of that organization.

The major Romanian national goal is to create an ethnically homogeneous Greater Romania and, in order to implement this goal, they maintain this Daco-Roman theory. Why are they not confronted by anyone at long last? Because it is not at all easy to oppose this. Prior to Trianon, the goal of the Romanian national movements was to create a Romanian national unity. They accomplished this in 1920. However, they accomplished something else too: Romania gained twice as much territory from Hungary as the Romanian irredentists counted on before World War I. No matter how absurd it is, Romanian policy has been taking more seriously than anything else the fact that unlawfulness and injustice triumphed in Trianon. However, they draw a cynical conclusion after this brave acceptance, namely that injustice and unlawfulness must be transformed into justice and lawfulness. What is the solution? The Hungarians in Romania must be eliminated! Physically eliminated by assimilating them or driving them out. If the 2.5 million Hungarians cease to exist, the injustice and unlawfulness of Trianon will naturally be transformed into unquestionable justice and lawfulness. And Romania continues to submit everything to the 70-year-old major Romanian national goal: To transform the multinational Greater Romania created in Trianon in 1920 and consolidated in Paris in 1947 into an ethnically homogeneous Romanian national state.

No matter from where we begin, we will always arrive at the same conclusion, namely this sole Romanian national goal. And we can declare now: Here is the reason. And the unfortunate actions of Gheorghe Funar, the mayor of Kolozsvar [Cluj] and the other Romanian neofascist leaders are the effects of this cause. It is not at all sure that they are able to behave differently. They obviously submit their will to the ruling ideology and the major national goal. Nor is it certain that they are acting out of conviction. Perhaps they are acting out of fear of the currently strongest political organization in Romania, namely the openly fascist Vatra Romaneasca. They behave exactly as the creators of Vatra Romaneasca expect them to behave.

The Hungarians in Romania are trying to defend themselves.

Both when they claim their right to self-determination and when they only demand the return of their university, the self-defense of the Hungarians in Transylvania, Partium, Banat, and the eastern regions of the Tisza River is an answer to the major Romanian national goal. Thus, the Hungarians' action can be only regarded as an effect and precisely therefore, they can count on the support of the justice-loving world.

National Democratic Alliance Party Formed

LD2109083192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] The National Democratic Alliance becomes a party today. The organization formed by Imre Pozsgay, Zoltan Biro, and Istvan Kukorelli wants to carry out a center policy and rejects extremities. Earlier Pozsgay stated in connection with the national idea that for them the nation is a fundamental common value, but only if it is created of the free will of free citizens instead of just appearing as a brand of some sort.

National Democratic Federation To Become Party

LD1909180892 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—The National Democratic Federation (NDF), a movement launched by former reform communist Imre Pozsgay and Hungarian Democratic Forum founder Zoltan Biro, is about to turn into a political party.

An NDF assembly, that opened on Saturday [19 September], is to adopt the statutes of the new party.

Amidst the present tensions, aggressiveness and vulgar political style, the NDF wants to pursue European-style policies, bearing in mind traditional values of the people, Zoltan Biro, the movement's co-chairman, said in an opening address.

After turning into a party, the NDF will continue to dissociate itself from all extremes and to seek cooperation with democratic forces, Biro added.

The NDF, as a centrist party, will pursue pragmatic policies, Imre Pozsgay, chairman of the movement, said.

He said the movement had refrained from a campaign to recruit members because such a campaign may take place only under clear political conditions. After the movement turns into a party, it will seek to increase the number of members.

A reform communist and senior official of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers, Party (HSWP), the former state party, Pozsgay played a leading role in preparing the change of the political system between 1987-89.

In 1989, he had seemed the most likely candidate to become president of the republic, but a referendum decided the president would be elected by parliament.

In the first round of the 1990 parliamentary elections, he was defeated in his Gyor constituency by Federation of Young Democrats candidate Jozsef Szajer, and backed out of the race. Finally, he won a seat in parliament by the list of proportional party representation, as a Hungarian Socialist Party MP [member of parliament]. In

1991, he broke with his party and became an independent MP. He launched the NDF with Biro in spring 1992.

Socialist Official Views Party Successes, Position

AU2109073292 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 14 Sep 92 p 4

[Report by Csoknyay: "New Parties, Old Inhibitions!—Society Is More Forward Than the Political Elite"]

[Text] Nowadays, not quite two years after the local government elections, there seems to be a by-election of a mayor or—mostly—a local government deputy each week. Earlier, newspapers wrote a lot about the successes of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], although FIDESZ, the most popular party according to public opinion polls, has only won twice at such elections in 18 months.

However, little is said about the fact that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has been winning the "laurels" for some time now, and not only at the local government elections. The latest example is the ninth electoral district of Csongrad town where—although the voting was not valid—the MSZP's prospective local government representative won over the other six candidates by gaining more than 50 percent of the votes at the first round of elections.

The fact that "something is going on" around the MSZP can at best be seen by the public from the sharp attacks that have arisen and the inspiration of fear, mainly from the coalition groups. We interviewed Ferenc Baja, deputy chairman of the MSZP, on the reasons for the successes and fears.

The continuous good performance of the MSZP representatives—not only at local government elections—is an unquestionable tendency, he said. These successes show that the influence of the MSZP is growing, even compared to the public opinion polls. The party's good organization is not the only reason behind this. The facts are proving that Hungarian society, the electors, are further forward than the political elite. This party was let out of the political quarantine before the other five parliamentary parties. This party is certainly not "perfect" and one of the reasons for the voters' choice must be that they cannot find better ones. These successes must also be due to the work of the parliamentary faction. Some 50 percent of the MSZP's electoral basis has been replaced by new people in the past two and a half years, which shows that the party's policies are in accord with the expectations of the majority of the voters.

This is certainly not a case of the left wing's coming to the forefront as a result of some kind of nostalgic mood because the new voters have come from the extreme left and the center, Ferenc Baja emphasized. This party has indeed appeared as an independent political force that puts forward clear, definite, and pragmatic ideas. In other words, this party has become eligible to be elected, both in a positive and negative sense of the word. Although there is no longer a five-party stand-off, this also creates fears. The political partners have shown a rather nervous reaction to the MSZP's positive results and fear has arisen because of the left-wing turn of events, but all this shows is that the political atmosphere is rather bad. The MSZP has not justified this fear with any of its actions.

However, if the new political forces are afraid of this and cannot accept it, then Hungarian society is taking a further turn toward Csurka's ideas, Baja said. [Csurka is deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and author of a controversial, right-wing study] Our party has previously been accused of being demagogic. It is certainly true that the proportion of the unemployed in relation to the number of voters—be it elections or public opinion polls—is very low. We have to open toward them but this will be a slow process. However, I am astonished at the political ignorance with which certain people describe the position of other parties, including that of the socialists. Often, it is not a case of ill will but the work of old inhibitions. As a minimum, these people should first become familiar with the facts of the situation before they speak about the country's affairs. The parties can give a lot of help to each other but sending messages is not an "adult thing." We should as last realize that development must take place under social control, Ferenc Baja stated.

Demonstrators Demand Resignations of Media Chiefs

LD1909211892 Budapest MTI in English 2103 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, September 19 (MTI)—In a demonstration held by the Committee for Free Information on Saturday [19 September], participants demanded the resignation of media presidents. Organizers reported the crowd numbered 70,000-80,000.

In a statement, read out in front of the Hungarian television, where they arrived after stopping briefly at the Hungarian radio, the demonstrators called upon the government to use its legal opportunity and suspend Radio President Csaba Gombar and Television President Elemer Hankiss, who they said served antinational interests, from their posts, and appoint government commissioners to head the two media.

The media presidents had been appointed on the basis of a six-party consensus by President Arpad Goncz at the proposal of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in 1990. This summer, Antall proposed to relieve the media heads but Goncz rejected the proposal.

Gombar refused to attend a parliamentary committee hearing held to investigate his suitability for the post. Hankiss was termed unfit for his post by the parliamentary committee after the hearing.

The demonstrators' statement termed Goncz's refusal to relieve the media presidents' antidemocratic and unconstitutional, accusing him of ignoring the Hungarian nation's interests.

A ruling by the Constitutional Court on the issue had been differently interpreted by Antall and Goncz. Goncz had repeated several times he had acted lawfullly, while in the governing coalition's view, he had violated the Constitution.

"We demand the Hungarian radio and television to represent the Hungarian nations interests and act for the benefit of the Hungarian nation at all times," says the statement, which was handed to representatives of the media presidents.

At the rally in front of the television, Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) Vice-President Istvan Csurka sharply attacked radio and television leaders and the press.

According to Csurka, Gombar, Hankiss and liberals in the press seek to re-establish the communist regime in Hungary.

Also, during the demonstration, participants were addressed by 56-ers World Federation head Gergely Pongratz and independent MP [member of parliament] Janos Denes.

HDF MP Miklos Reti and Bela Gyori, editor of a radio programme close to the government, who had recently been relieved by Gombar, announced the end of a hunger strike they had started to pressure Goncz to relieve the media heads.

Population Required To Submit Assets Declarations

AU2109145492 Budapest MTI in English 1221 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 18 Sep (MTI)—About 7 million Hungarian citizens will have to submit assets declarations by November 30, the government decided during its Thursday [17 September] session.

The decision was detailed to journalists by National Tax Authority President Gyorgy Minarik in the parliament on Friday.

Minarik recalled that the tax law, effective since January 1 this year, set no deadline for handing in assets declarations.

The aim of the regulation is to detect increases in assets beyond a person's normal taxable income. It is estimated that invisible income in Hungary amounts to a minumum of HUF [Hungarian forints] 100 billion.

All Hungarian citizens with taxable incomes, including pensioners and unemployed, must give a statement of their assets—movable and immovable—cash above the limit of HUF 200,000, except savings and foreign currency deposits, as well as possible debts.

The measure affects some 7 million people out of a total population of 10.4 million.

The tax authority will guarantee secrecy of the data collected, Minarik said. Similar declarations will probably have to be repeated every three or four years.

The tax authority will carry out 100,000 checks every year and order the making of new declarations if it deems necessary as early as the following year.

The tax authority will receive HUF 550 million from the state budget to administer the assets declarations.

Officials React to French Maastricht Referendum

LD2109132292 Warsaw PAP in English 1208 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 21—Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski said Sunday [20 September] night in Washington that a weak French "yes" vote in the Maastricht referendum would mean that the question of Polish, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak integration with the EC would be of less importance for the present membership since the 12 would become preoccupied with their own affairs. He added that a strong yes vote on the other hand would signify a Europe which was headed in one direction and wanted unity.

President of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz thought that a weak "yes" would activate all those people in Poland who were against European unity.

EC Parliament Approves Poland Association Treaty

LD1809161592 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 16 Sep 92

[Text] Strasbourg, Sept. 16—The European parliament on Wednesday [16 September] approved the treaty on Poland's association with the European Communities.

Jan Gawronski, an Italian deputy to the European parliament whose report on the association treaty was approved with an overwhelming majority of vote, said that this was an important step towards the return to Europe of nations that have the right to be there.

Also Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Poland's minister for contacts with the EC, stressed in a statement for the press that the vote in the parliament constitutes "an important step towards bringing Poland and the communities closer together."

"At present Poland expects all the national parliaments of the "twelve" to ratify the treaty so that it may come in force on January 1, 1993," Bielecki said.

Economic Minister Discusses Visegrad Memo to EC

AU1609132692 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12-13 Sep 92 p 1

[Maria Wagrowska report: "Membership Must Be Realistic"]

[Text] A further liberalization of trade, a harmonization of legal rules, an expansion of political cooperation, and a definition of the criteria Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary should meet before entering into negotiations on membership in the EC—these are the main postulates contained in a memorandum issued by the governments of the "Visegrad Triangle" addressed to the EC.

The "Triangle" countries also want the EC to consider the implementation of the 16 December 1991 European accord calling for a 10-year initial period prior to associate membership. If this assessment is positive, the EC should commence negotiations on full EC membership for the three countries. The memorandum was handed to Frans Andriessen, deputy chairman of the EC Commission, by the ambassadors of the three countries in Brussels on 11 September, and was also conveyed to a British Government representative on account of Great Britain's current chairmanship of the EC.

Speaking to RZECZPOSPOLITA, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister for cooperation with the EC, categorically denied that the memorandum had been drafted because the EC countries are slow in ratifying the EC associate membership accord. "The EC countries simply have a timetable of work to follow," he said. "There will be an EC summit in Edinburgh toward the end of the year, at which paths of action for the coming years will be decided. Great Britain includes among its priorities a tightening of cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe. We already decided earlier that we would increase our political dialogue for this purpose, as a result of which the foreign ministers of the 'Visegrad Triangle' will meet in joint session with the EC foreign ministers in Luxembourg on 5 October, Prime Minister Suchocka will visit Brussels on 7 and 8 October, and on 28 October there will be a mini-summit in London at which either the "Visegrad" heads of state or heads of government will meet the British prime minister and chairman of the EC commission. These events prompted Poland and its other two partners to draft this memorandum on the subject of consolidating links with the EC and the future of our membership.

"Our three countries," Bielecki continued, "expect the Edinburgh summit to adopt a resolution defining the framework for and schedule of our process of becoming members of the EC. We consider this a very important political act. Our countries are determined to do everything they can to establish a stable democracy, observe human rights, and continue the economic reform policy—in other words, everything that will make our membership in the EC realistic. On the other hand, we expect the EC to ratify the accord on associate membership so that it may enter into effect on 1 January 1993. Any delay in this would be most discouraging. We expect an expansion of political dialogue at all levels, not only on the foreign minister level, but also on the trade and finance minister level, as well as lower levels. I hope a rapprochement between our societies will occur. After all, it is not just treaties and structures we are concerned with, but with easier contacts and cooperation between countries and people.

"The next point is a liberalization of trade. Our memorandum does not gloss over such difficulties as unemployment, inflation, and the state of public finances. On the contrary, it contains a plan for overcoming them. We ask for better access to EC markets and further trade concessions, especially in the so-called sensitive spheres

of agricultural produce, steel, and textiles. We also want the EC not to concentrate merely on technical assistance in its cooperation with us, as was the case in the past, but to give us financial aid for investments, mainly in small and medium-size enterprises. We also ask for a more liberal interpretation of the rules concerning financial cooperation."

World Bank To Assist in Administrative Reforms

LD1809220692 Warsaw PAP in English 1540 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—The World Bank mission to Poland believes that reforms of the country's administrative system are of particular importance, the Polish government press office announced on Friday [18 September], following a meeting between a World Bank team headed by mission head Ian Hume and the Minister-Head of the Cabinet Office Jan Maria Rokita.

According to the government press office, the World Bank said that it was for the first time that the bank had come across such a broad-ranging approach towards the reform of public administration and the decentralisation as that shown by the Polish government. It noted that there was complete agreement between the two sides on the principles underlying the reforms of public administration. The press office also announced that the World Bank would shortly offer technical assistance to Poland in implementing the reforms.

Central European Trade Initiative Presented

AU1809142592 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 15 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

[Arkadiusz Milewski report: "Nostalgia for CEMA?"]

[Text] We have learned from unofficial sources of a meeting held at the Belweder [presidential residence] concerning a proposed Central European Trade Initiative (SEIH) that is to realize President Lech Walesa's concept of an "EEC-2." Andrzej Kozakiewicz, an undersecretary of state in the Presidential Chancellery, invited the following ministers to discuss the project: Andrzej Arendarski, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Krysztof Skubiszewski, Janusz Ziolkowski, and presidential economics adviser Andrzej Olechowski. We were unable to establish who finally did actually take part representing the government. All we know is that Arendarski and Skubiszewski did not attend. Apparently, their deputies were present.

The proposed Central European Trade Initiative was initially approved by the president on 7 September. The introduction explaining the purpose of the project states that "it is to fill the vacuum left by the collapse of CEMA and that will exist until Poland (and similar countries) are integrated with the EEC." According to the authors, "however inefficient CEMA may have been, it nevertheless provided a better framework for the flow of goods and payments to a significant number of countries." Its dismantlement saw the "emergence of a vacuum that has led to a significant decline in regional trade." Obstacles to the restoration of ties between countries in which reform has reached an advanced stage (Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary) are, the authors assert, "the macroeconomic situation, institutional shortcomings, and fear of foreign competition." In their opinion, the same obstacles make rapid integration with the EEC impossible. "If it were possible, then there would be no need to develop mutual ties on a separate basis," note the authors. "What is even more disturbing and disadvantageous for the region and the world economy is the fact that less advanced countries (especially the new republics) are being excluded from international rules," states the explanatory introduction. To prevent this, Lech Walesa is to propose the initiative and invite the following to participate in it: European members of what was formerly CEMA and countries in what was formerly the USSR, the EEC, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, as well as the GATT secretariat. The governments of the countries participating in SEIH would adopt a declaration of intent on promoting regional trade and create a system of mutual trade preferences. In addition, the president's project envisages that the EEC would lend political support to the initiative as well as create a Central European Fund for Assisting Adjustments in Trade. The purpose of the fund, which would be administered by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, would be to participate in financing adjustment programs promoting free trade within the SEIH framework. The project also envisages various forms of action on the part of the Bank for Reconstruction and Development, such as opening credit lines for the financing of adjustment projects as well as the creation of a System for Central European Export Credits.

We tried to obtain more details about the "EEC-2" concept from Andrzej Olechowski, who, according to unofficial information, was the main proponent of these ideas at the Belweder meeting. However, all that was conveyed to us from the presidential adviser by his secretary was that he will be able to say much more at the end of the month and that it will be very interesting.

According to Adam Glapinski, who was minister of foreign economic cooperation in the Jan Olszewski government, the "EEC-2" idea aims to restore special economic ties between countries that belonged to the former Soviet bloc and is closely linked to the "NATO-2" idea. "We have a choice between directing all resources and capabilities to adjusting to EEC requirements or directing those resources to rebuilding economic exchange with Bulgaria, Romania, and Russia," he said. In his opinion, it is very doubtful whether the West will allocate resources for such a concept. He added: "If aid resources that have already been obtained were to be used for this purpose, then that would of course be a disastrous mistake." In the former minister's opinion, it is also unlikely that Czechoslovakia and Hungary will want to have special ties with countries formerly in

CEMA that extend beyond normal trade and normal profitable cooperation. He also considered the absence of a place for a parliament in the concept to make it lack credibility.

The views of our southern neighbors on this subject might have been confirmed by Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's recent talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus. Although nothing is officially known, some statements indicate that initial consultations about the issue might have been held by the prime minister. Prime Minister Klaus said: "Of course we want to use the coordination that has already been initiated within the Visegrad Triangle to construct something broader within the region of Central Europe. However, it should be more of a G-4 group rather than an entire organization with secretariats and full-time employees."

Suchocka, OPZZ on Enterprise 'Pact' Negotiations

LD1909171292 Warsaw PAP in English 2057 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 18—An hour-long meeting between Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and a delegation of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) was devoted to conditions indispensable for starting negotiations on the "pact on state-owned enterprises", Labour Minister Jacek Kuron, participant in the talks, told newsmen on Friday [18 September].

He said that both sides reached a certain consensus on the government-proposed mode of negotiating the "pact". It should be discussed by teams composed of representatives of all trade unions, the government and employers who would work on separate legal acts. Once teams' work is ended, the government will negotiate the "pact" separately with each trade union. Kuron also said that by the end of September the government will present to the nation "a certain socio-economic vision of the country".

According to Waclaw Martyniuk, the OPZZ deputy chairman, "no substantial talks were held". He said that it would be much easier to negotiate the "pact", had the government simultaneously prepared "pact on social guarantees". He said he hoped that Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski, who has been rejecting the idea of negotiating with the OPZZ at one table, "will change his stance on that important issue".

Simultaneously, he declared that he will be ready to start negotiations on September 30, after an initial stance on draft of legal acts comprised by the "pact" is adopted by all unions affiliated to the OPZZ."

Forum of Democratic Right Leaves Democratic Union

LD2109080792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] At a meeting of the Council of the Democratic Union in Warsaw, Aleksander Hall officially announced that his party, the Forum of the Democratic Right, is leaving the Democratic Union.

Former Ministers To Stand Before State Tribunal

LD1909170392 Warsaw PAP in English 1113 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 19—The Sejm (lower house) which resumed debates here Saturday [19 September] morning voted to bring to constitutional accountability before the tribunal of state former Ministers Dominik Jastrzebski, Andrzej Wroblewski and Aleksander Mackiewicz as well as former head of the GUC Main Customs Office Jerzy Cwiek. The four former officials face the charge of neglecting their duties and permitting uncontrolled imports of alcohol that have led to significant losses suffered by the state budget.

The Sejm also rejected today the motion to drop proceedings linked to the "alcohol scandal" against former officials Leszek Balcerowicz, Ireneusz Sekula, Czeslaw Kiszczak and Marcin Swiecicki. The chamber has decided, however, to discontinue proceedings against former ministers Krzysztof Kozlowski and Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz.

Deputies Krzysztof Kaminski of the Confederation for an Independent Poland and Stanislaw Zajac of the Christian National Union were appointed to act as prosecutors in the case.

Goryszewski: Army Officers Will Not Be Vetted

LD1809182192 Warsaw PAP in English 1652 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Gorzow Wielkopolski, Sept. 17—Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski promised soldiers on Thursday [17 September] that there will be no political vetting of Army officers in active service in the Polish Armed Forces.

"There can be no blow struck at the Polish Army," Goryszewski told soldiers of the 6th Mechanized Regiment in Wedrzyn, western Poland. "Army cannot be deprived of professional staff, Army is not for amateurs," he told journalists later on.

"Neither myself nor a firm majority, that is nearly all deputies of the Christian National Union (ZChN), will take any decision on vetting that could weaken the combat capacity of the Polish Army," Goryszewski promised officers in Wedrzyn and added that "the Army must be commanded in a professional way and new generations of commanders can take over only in a

normal, I would say, biological cycle. This is my stand and I am well convinced that such is also the stand of the Sejm majority."

Goryszewski's comments followed remarks made last Tuesday by Deputy Minister of National Defence Bronislaw Komorowski about the possible effects of decommunisation in the Armed Forces. Komorowski claimed that the Polish Army would lose almost the entire personnel in commanding posts if decommunisation were introduced in the Army.

The Polish Sejm (lower house) is now working on six draft laws on decommunisation. 92 per cent of all Army officers and 100 per cent of generals and colonels in the Polish Army were Communist Party members and most of them would fall victims to decommunisation laws.

Departure of Army Officers Causes Concern

AU2109083292 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

[Zbigniew Lentowicz article: "Officers Are Leaving—Problems With Army Cadres"]

[Text] So many officers with the rank of colonel and above have left the Army over the past three years that one can compare these losses with the losses that would be suffered during a bloody military campaign, claims Colonel Zbigniew Skoczylas, chief of the Cadres Department of the Ministry of National Defense. The first officers to leave were made redundant, mainly political officers and others from the information and intelligence services and from the Ministry's judicial departments. But they were followed by officers of mature age, and others who insisted there was no longer room for them in the new armed forces. In this way the Army lost a lot of blood.

Between 1989 and 1991, as many generals left the Army as during the entire preceding decade. In 1990 alone, the number of colonels who left was five times greater than the average number who left during each year of the preceding decade.

Not all these personnel cuts were "political." The officer corps was quite simply drastically restructured to suit new requirements. "After all," says Colonel Skoczylas, "five years ago we had 490,000 men in the armed forces, and over a dozen tactical groups. Warsaw Pact commitments called for the attainment of goals and targets well beyond Poland's borders. These plans were accompanied by a gigantic logistics base permitting the regrouping of allied forces on a huge scale."

Today, the Army has definitely abandoned imperial intentions. Polish units, serving a purely defense purpose, will only be deployed outside Poland within UN formations—those are the most important provisions of doctrine.

"A numerical strength of between 220,000 and 290,000 men in the present armed forces creates the need for a certain level of cadres," says Colonel Skoczylas. "But the fundamental problem is that the military changes so far have resulted in such rapid and heavy losses that the balance between officers and non-officers has disappeared."

Such armies as the U.S. or German Armies are in a healthy situation because the structure of ranks and functions within them forms an almost perfect pyramid of command. Thus, the U.S. Army normally has twice as many lieutenant-colonels as colonels, twice as many captains as majors, and so on. In the Polish Army, officers regularly perform tasks that are meant for officers two or three ranks lower. Apart from that there is a mix-up. We have as many second lieutenants as majors, and as many captains as lieutenant-colonels. The rank of lieutenant-colonel is most widespread among army doctors. The result is that there are as many lieutenant-colonels in the medical branch as there are in combat.

No wonder that for many years, promotion was the only way to upgrade miserable pay. As a result, a proliferation of colonels also occurred inside the military administration, construction branch, and quartermaster branch. In the armies of many countries considerably richer than Poland, the function of doctor, mechanical engineer, and paymaster is performed by civilians. "That is much cheaper on the military budget, and that is what we want in our army", says Colonel Skoczylas. "The best thing would be a completely new category of employee; instead of a civilian army employee, we should have an official, attached to the army, with a stable position, and providing services for the military. The reason for such a move is simple. It costs too much to train an officer just to sit him behind a desk and waste his abilities. By the way, I would like to dispel a few myths," says Colonel Skoczylas. "Those who think there is no problem with placing lieutenants in command of units normally commanded by colonels are mistaken. Those who extol the virtues of junior officers seem to forget that Stalin carried out a similar experiment during the war, and on a much larger scale. The outcome was terrible and it is worth remembering it.

"The training of a regimental commander must take at least 13-15 years. Accelerated promotion is risky, to say the least. The only way to verify professionalism and competence is to send an officer to officer school first, then place him in charge of a platoon, followed by a company, and then send him on a higher officer training course. The most gifted officers can then be sent to staff college, after which their command abilities can be assessed in practice."

Promotion for junior officers is impossible without making senior posts vacant. "We are working hard on unblocking the path to promotion," says Colonel Skoczylas. "One way of doing so is to compel officers to transfer to the reserve once they have reached a certain

age. Therefore we have decided that a general with 35 years of service should end his military career at 58, and a colonel at 55. Such a mechanism has been applied in the West for many years, and an officer knows virtually by instinct when it is time for him to go. Here in Poland, they put up resistance. They think it is better to hang on as long as possible because no one knows what sort of pension he will get later.

"Another myth is that a military career awaits anyone who graduates from a Western military academy," Colonel Skoczylas says. "We have six students in the first year at the legendary U.S. West Point. However, apart from a general finesse, this academy does not provide professional knowledge. We have to prepare a candidate for one year before he crosses the ocean, and I do not mean teaching him English. We have to check if he is psychologically resilient and generally suitable for military service. Once he has completed this elitist yet unique American 'forge of patriotic attitudes,' he still has to complete his training in Poland and learn the art of soldiering. That places him two years behind his peers on the road to a military career. Therefore it would make more sense to send him on a specialized course in the West. However, it is very difficult to find officers with experience, especially those with an adequate knowledge of English. For this very reason, despite strenuous efforts on our part to recruit military linguists, we failed to form a Polish contingent to serve with the UN forces in Somalia. We will certainly offer career opportunities to those who have some kind of training before they visit the army barracks for the first time. I have in mind people trained in information processing, languages, and so on."

The officer cadets who entered officer schools in 1989 will be the first batch of military personnel to be completely free of the heritage of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. The remainder, in other words over 70 percent of the present cadres, and practically every single senior commander, all had dealings with the PZPR. "So far, no one has been 'messing about' with the personal files of our officers," says Colonel Skoczylas. "They have survived intact. One can see everything in black and white." The colonel would also like to see those who committed offenses in the past to leave the Army. "One of my functions is to help those with something on their conscience to make this decision, the only right one."

Although people are leaving the Army all the time, personnel rotation must be smooth, without any destructive jolts. "One cannot act irresponsibly and carry out a purge. That would merely paralyze the entire structure of the Army," says Colonel Skoczylas.

In the colonel's opinion, the authors of the draft legislation to decommunize the Army do not understand the essence of the Army and the present situation within it. Apart from that, only an expert can properly interpret the documents that have survived. "Quite often, if an officer was very good, his friends would encourage him to hold a party function in the Army. They wanted someone from their own social circle to be party secretary because only the party offered protection against one's superiors. Apart from that, every single regimental commander belonged to a party cell.

"We have worked out that if decommunization in its extreme form were carried out thoroughly, there would be only two people left in the officer corps of the Polish Armed Forces, and one of them would be General Glodz, the field bishop. Of the 100 regimental commanders presently in the Army, over 70 would have to be discharged. Many of these have been in the Army a relatively short time, and are often no higher than major.

"We are in no danger of an army revolt against decommunization," the colonel insists. "No self-respecting army stages revolts because the army is not an institution that indulges in protests. Of course, in the present difficult situation, anyone can express thanks for his military service in his own particular way. Until now, a civilian defense minister has been clearly expressing the Army's stance toward decommunization, and he will continue to do so. I trust that a healthy instinct of self-preservation will also prevail inside parliament," said Colonel Skoczylas.

Do Generals Anders, Zeligowski, or Dowbor-Musnicki appear to have been disloyal to Poland? All of them, as well as many others, swore to the Russian tsar that they would be loyal officers of the Russian Army before they donned Polish uniforms in 1918.

Yugoslav Border Crossings 'Practically' Closed

LD1809193492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1846 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, Sept. 17 (TANJUG)—Romania practically closed the border-crossings with Yugoslavia on Thursday [17 September], allowing only a few passenger cars to pass the border. Columns of cars at the border-crossings, particularly from the Romanian side, are several kilometers long.

According to some reports, teams of foreign observers together with the Romanian authorities are controlling traffic and the implementation of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia. The U.N. Security Council imposed the sanctions on Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Unofficial sources in Bucharest said on Thursday Romania would tighten control of the road traffic with Yugoslavia, after introducing stricter measures in traffic on the Danube and exports to the former Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Slovenia and Macedonia. The Romanian competent organs, including the Foreign Ministry and border police, declined to comment the report.

Foreign Ministry Official Assesses Strategic Ties

AU2109115292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1139 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 21/9/1992—"I have never begged for anything, either at our meetings with U.S. officials, or with representatives of other countries. Always aware that I am representing the interests of a country two millennia old, not only that I have talked with all on an equal footing, but I have constantly tried to bring forth both the interests we pursue in our economic and political relations with them and to stir their interest in coming to Romania, to point out to them the geo-political importance of Romania in the new European context," I.V. Sandulescu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and member of the Romanian Government, stated in an interview for the daily CURIERUL NATIONAL.

Elaborating on the new aspects in the European politics after the fall of the USSR, Mr. Sandulescu claims that a simple look at the map shows that, once the USSR gone and its heirs emerged as states that will fatally have to integrate in the new European unity, Europe will extend from the Atlantic to the Urals. In the new layout, Romania places right in the middle, becoming, from the geo-political point of view, the turning table between the two blocs: the Western and the Slavic one. This makes Romania no longer an East-European country, and enhances its political and strategic importance. It is from this new angle that Romania's foreign policy should be re-thought and re-modelled. In his opinion and that of his party (National Liberal Party), Romania's policy should foster the friendship with both blocs but never make the country economically dependent on either of them." [no opening quotation mark as received] Economically speaking, "Romania should orient its tendrils as far as possible, to states that entertain no special political interests to it."

Relative to Romania's relations with the U.S., to his personal efforts to this effect, Mr. Sandulescu said he has always craved for the friendship of the United States, but that he did not go to Washington to beg for anything or obtain credibility for his party from the Romanian electorate. "All I did was to try and persuade the Americans that it wase to their interest to make Romania a powerful country, both economically and politically."

Mr. Sandulescu however underlined that the stress laid on Romania's relations with the U.S. did not mean leaving Western Europe or other areas of the world for a secondary plane. Politically, Romania's number 1 priority remains its integration in the European bodies, where the U.S. is not only present but also has a say.

Referring to the Romanian-Hungarian relations, Mr. Sandulescu said he personally did not accept a polyvalent policy in Romania, and he would never be the advocate of a state in state in the country of the Romanians.

Asked to refer to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, the secretary of state reminded that the only people the Romanians have never been in conflict or territorial dispute for the past thousand years were the Serbs, and that one should not forget that after the fire has been put out, the Serbs will remain our neighbors. When one is surrounded by countries that not all are friendly, one cannot afford to give up a century-old ally.

Speaking about the Republic of Moldova, the Romanian politician stressed: "One thing should be clear—Moldova has been and shall be a Romanian land. But it is no less true that the wisdom of the Romanian foreign policy must show in its approach of this region of the world, prone to generate hotbeds of war at any moment, in which Romania must not let itself lured, without, however, forgetting its dignity."

As to minorities, an issue debated in the CSCE meetings, Mr. Sandulescu thinks that "Romania must not single itself out by adopting a position different from the one 'resolved' by the international community. I wish we could be our own masters in our country," he wound up.

PDAR Program Emphasizes 'Agrarian Question'

AU1709193792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1208 GMT 17 Sep 92

["1992 Elections: The Electoral Programme of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/9/1992—"National unity, social peace, property, bread" is the slogan in the elections of the Agrarian Democratic Party of Romania

(PDAR), which characterizes itself as a centre, balance party. Its message to the nation, adopted in the extraordinary session of the National Steering Committee and printed in the newspaper ADEVARUL, shows that all the draft laws concerning resettlement or the creation of various progressive institutions were initiated or worked out by the PDAR in a simple, clear, easily explainable manner, but were only complicated by the amendments made by the parliamentarian representing the majority party in Parliament. As a participant in ruling over the past year, the PDAR initiated and worked out numerous draft laws and steps to develop agriculture and provide for alimentary security. However, despite repeated interventions, it could not convince either the Parliament or the government of the fact that the agrarian question was the priority. The errors and the shortfalls that affected the life of the whole nation were not a fault of the PDAR.

In the future, the message shows, the PDAR will give land freely from existing reserves, along with one third of the nominal capital of industrial, commercial, tourist and other units, will turn industry into a producer of consumer goods and agricultural equipment, will grant credits to peasants with interest rates paid by the state, will update irrigations systems, trade and the banking system, will give women a new social status, will support the Romanian Army, etc.

Presidential Candidates View Role, Status of Army

AU2109114292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0945 GMT 21 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 21/9/1992—The weekly ARMATA ROMANIEI carries the opinions of the six candidates for Romania's presidency on the Army's place and role in a state of law, being edified in Romania.

Emil Constantinescu, a nominee for the Democratic Convention, considers, among other things, that "the Army's only role is to safeguard the sovereignty, independence and unity of the Romanian state, the country's territorial integrity." In Mr. Constantinescu's opinion, the Army's intervention in domestic issues can be conceived only in extreme situations, when an armed aggression from within would endanger the very existence of the institutions of the state of law, and, in this case, (the Army should intervene), while strictly observing the law.

The head of the Supreme Defence Council is, according to Romania's Constitution, the country's president, but, mentions Mr. Constantinescu, the said council's prerogatives must be stipulated by laws limiting as much as possible circumstantial interpretations, decision-making by mere dispositions or ordinances.

Caius Dragomir, the candidate for the National Salvation Front, opines that "no balance can be struck in a state, in the absence of an Army strong enough, that has its dignity respected. ... In principle," maintains Mr. Dragomir, "the Army should never interfere in domestic affairs. It can nevertheless do it in case a threat on the state of law, widely recognised by the nation, is confirmed by Parliament." As for the prerogatives of Romania's president on matters of defence, Caius Dragomir considers that "what the Constitution stipulates is exactly what is needed to ensure the national defence, the national security." "In all states," says he, "the president is the one to take a final decision in this respect."

Gheorghe Funar, candidate for the Romanian National Unity Party, maintains that "at present, at this difficult moment for the country, when the unitary national state, the national sovereignty and independence, Romania's territorial integrity are in danger, the Romanian Army has an essential part to play in building up a state of law, new democratic Romania." Mr. Funar is of the opinion that, at present "based on the provisions of the Constitution, the laws for the national defence and security, the Romanian Army has to add to the forces of the Ministry of the Interior and the Romanian Intelligence Service, in all situations when, through violence, terrorist methods the nation's fundamental values would be threatened." To Mr. Funar's mind, the Army has to remain uninvolved in political games, and he considers the powers granted to the president of Romania, through the Constitution, to be "right."

Ion Iliescu, running for president for the Democratic National Salvation Front, mentions that the role of the Romanian Army becomes clear from the very first paragraph of the Constitution, stipulating that Romania is a national, sovereign and independent, unitary and indivisible state. Under normal conditions, of political and social stability, adds Mr. Iliescu, the Army has no role to play in domestic affairs. But it will intervene in exceptional situations, calamities, etc., which are stipulated by the law of national security. "The Romanian Army," says Ion Iliescu, "has to stay away from party policy. Its only party is Romania, its only policy, the country's defence, the safeguarding of its independence, unity and territorial integrity, of constitutional order." Mr. Iliescu considers the prerogatives of Romania's president on defence to be "normal."

Mircea Druc, independent candidate, is of the opinion that it is "correct" for the Constitution to stipulate that the Army is exclusively subordinated to the will of the people, to guarantee the state sovereignty, independence and unity, the country's integrity and constitutional democracy. In his opinion the Army is only called to intervene in domestic issues in exceptional cases (disaster), or other situations, and its intervention should be approved by Parliament. "The Army," adds Mr. Druc, "should be at equal distance from all political parties."

Ion Manzatu, standing for president for the Republican Party: "Nobody may minimise the role of the Army, one of the basic forces of a modern state (...). History teaches us to keep our eyes wide open, and so shall we do, we shall grant the Army the role it deserves, ensure facilities to it, and conditions for it to be well trained." The Army," [no opening quotation mark as received] is Mr.

Manzatu's outlook, "has to take steps whenever the homeland integrity, sovereignty, independence are in danger, irrespective of where the dangers come from." "The president is an official that has to watch over a country's affairs, but never in Romania has a single man been empowered to make decisions in fundamental military issues. ... The only commander of the Army has to be the will of the people."

Citizens Abroad Can Vote in Elections

AU1809200592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 18/9/1992—In connection with a piece of information run by ROMANIA LIBERA daily of September 10, 1992 according to which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania would have instructed embassies to give a right to vote only to the Romanian citizens who have regularized their passport visas, the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry states it was false, and specifies: After the revolution the Romanian citizens no longer needed to apply to Romanian authorities for a visa to travel abroad. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs gave clear instructions with regard to identifying Romanian citizens when coming to the polling stations. All who have Romanian passports can exercise the right to vote. The Foreign Ministry and the Central Electoral Bureau received a request from the Romanians on the western coast of the U.S.A., who want to have a polling station. So, they looked into the matter from both a legal and an organizational point of view and decided that a polling station could be set up in Los Angeles with the U.S. authorities' accord, for which they will apply the next days.

Electoral Bureau on National Observers, Returns

AU2009152292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1450 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 20/9/1992— National observers: The lots have been cast at the Central Electoral Bureau (BEC) for the accreditation of the national observers nominated for the 27 September elections.

So far, 19 organisations and associations have applied for the accreditation of a total number of 7,444 observers, of whom 6,322 (that is 87.94 percent) have been confirmed. They cover 5,464 polling stations. The remaining 1,022 applicants may opt for any of the polling stations unclaimed for, in agreement with the BEC.

Selection by lots was resorted to whenever two or more associations proposed nominees for the same polling station.

Instructions for recording and filing of returns: The Central Electoral Bureau has relayed to all its local branches instructions directing that "in compliance with the provisions of Art. 27, Paragraph 2 of Law 68/1992 a copy of the reports recording the returns of the ballot, drawn up according to Art. 22 of Law 69/1992, and to Art. 85 Paragraph 1 and Art. 67 Paragraph 1 of Law 68/1992, shall be posted at the seat of the local Electoral Bureau (one report each for the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate and the president) for public knowledge.

Likewise, a copy of all the reports forwarded by the polling stations by computer listing shall be kept available for free access and ready reference, they all together forming a file of the returns for the entire constituency, with tabulations for each party, political organisation, coalition, independent candidate and the president. Reports shall be posted and records of computer listings made available at the time set by the law for each stage of the election process.

The above information was conveyed to ROMPRES by the BEC under the signature of its president Judge Paul Florea and released accordingly.

Presidency Comments on Croat-Muslim Relationship

LD1909195892 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] The information service of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency issued yet another statement today saying that at yesterday's session the presidency discussed some of the current issues concerning the organization and activities of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army's formation in southern parts of the Republic. In this connection, the presidency concluded the following:

1. The repeated misunderstandings between Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units in the municipalities of Stolac, Capljina, Trebinje, and Neum and the Bregava Brigade has not contributed to the struggle against the aggressors, who still hold under their occupation considerable parts of the southern republic's territory.

2. Preventing the Bregava Brigade from organizing their activities in the military base in Domanovici, in accordance with the instructions given by the main headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is illegal and it makes the efforts to unite all military forces willing to fight for liberation more difficult.

3. The presidency gives its full support to the efforts of citizens in the southern parts of the Republic to organize military formations under the command of the main headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and to revitalize the civil, legally established authorities wherever that is possible.

4. The command of the Bregava Brigade has the right and obligation to take all measures to organize and strengthen itself militarily, in coordination and cooperation with all defense forces in the municipalities of Capljina, Stolac, Ljubinje, and Neum.

5. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency expresses hope that similar misunderstandings will in the future be avoided in the interest of a successful struggle against the occupation forces, the statement by the information service of the Republic's presidency says.

Presidency Expresses Support for Army Chief

LD1909215492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Presidency members Alija Izetbegovic, Stjepan Kljujic, and Ejup Ganic held a meeting in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency building with members of the Supreme Command Headquarters headed by General Staff Chief Sefer Halilovic. The immediate reason for the meeting was the critical comments made at a news conference yesterday by Supreme Command member Jusuf Prazina about the work and personality of Sefer Halilovic.

The past conduct of the armed conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially in Sarajevo, was discussed and mistakes which have been made were noted. Jusuf Prazina's claims, it was said at the meeting, caused negative consequences among combatants and the civilian population at a time which is decisive for the defense of Sarajevo, and in this connection confidence in Sefer Halilovic was expressed.

Without denying the very important role of self-organized units in the early days of the war, it was concluded that the process of military organization of the armed forces must be stepped up.

Serbian Official Threatens 'State of War'

LD1809212892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1951 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—If the Muslims and Croatians do not turn toward peace during the negotiations in Geneva, a state of war will be proclaimed in the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Biljana Plavsic, a member of the Presidency of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovian, stated.

In a statement for SRNA, she stressed that before reaching a final decision, the Bosnian Serbs will wait for the results of the current session of the peace conference in Geneva.

She said the decision on a proclamation of a state of war in case of a violation of the conclusions of the London conference and Geneva peace talks was recently adopted by the parliament of the Serb republic.

She explained that the proclamation of a state of war in a country in which it is already present means the end to restraint by Serbian forces from engaging in combat, restraint that was unilaterally accepted by the Serbian side because of peace.

Plavsic added that a call could be made to all Serbian volunteers to join the liberation war, and that all human and material resources could be engaged in the battle for survival.

Serb Army Commander Comments on Croatian Forces

LD1909180492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1718 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] Bileca, September 19 (TANJUG)—The commander of the Army of the Serbian republic in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina (BiH), Gen. Ratko Mladic, said on Saturday [19 August] that the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia continues its aggression on Serbian territories while "the world calmly looks on and proclaims Serbs—who are fighting for their bare survival—aggressors."

Gen. Mladic told a news conference in Bilea, where he is attending a military-political consultations on the functioning of the civilian and military authorities of the

Serbian republic in BiH, that the basic goal of his Army was for the war to end as soon as possible.

"It is out of the question that the Army of the Serbian republic in BiH is an occupying Army, because if it were I would not be holding a news conference in Bileca but in Split or Sibenik (Croatian coastal towns,)' Gen. Mladic said.

Gen. Mladic said that, if it turns out impossible to establish peace, "both the Serbian people and areas where it lives should be protected against the aggressor's onslaught."

Bosnia-Hercegovina has for over five months been the stage of a civil war in which the local Muslims and Croats, assisted by Croatia's regular Army units, have been fighting the local Serbs.

Serbs, and to a lesser extent also Croats, are opposed to a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina, in which Muslims would dominate since they make up 44 percent of the population, and are calling for the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina based on the ethnic principle.

Gen. Mladic on Saturday toured a section of the Hercegovina front and said it was only thanks to the efforts of the Serbian soldiers and the local Serbian population that "Croatia is not succeeded in fulfilling its centuries' old appetites—making its way across these territories to Serbia and Montenegro and setting the border on the River Drina."

Gen. Mladic said Croatia had replaced 28 brigades on the Oherzina front so far, but had failed to achieve its goals. He said Croatia currently had 31 brigades, 11 regiments and seven special units on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. If all those units were withdrawn, the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina would quickly end, Gen. Mladic said.

Conference Calls For 'All' Muslims To Fight

LD1909224692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] A two-day international conference on human rights in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the genocide against Muslims has ended in Zagreb. The most important decision of the conference is the call on all Muslims of the world to come to fight in Bosnia in order to save Muslims living there. A Malaysian representative announced that his country has already started forming an army to be sent to Bosnia-Hercegovina. The conference called on all Muslim countries to stop cooperation with Serbia and Montenegro and to boycott all countries which continue such cooperation.

At the end of the conference, a special cable of gratitude was sent to Croatian President Tudjman, thanking him for everything Croatia has done to accommodate refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Sarajevo Radio Reports Gorazde 'Free'

AU1809205892

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 18 September carries its regular 50-minute newscast, which includes several reports on fighting in the republic.

In his report from Gorazde, Hadzo Efendic, chairman of the Gorazde Commune War Presidency says that the aggressor launched an all-out offensive in the Podrinje region to which defenders responded. He adds that "the result of this infernal, but glorious battle is that, dear listeners, we can now, after all these reports from Gorazde, impart the joyous news to you that Gorazde and its commune are free as of today. The attack and then a desperate resistance by Serbo-chetnik hordes on the right bank of the Drina River have been crushed, and the aggressor was forced to flee toward Cajnice and further on toward Serbia and Montenegro."

Reporting for the First Sarajevo Corps Information Service, Samra Cengic says that "chetnik artillery was active this afternoon. A tank acted from Poljine at Kosevo and Bare and about 10 projectiles fell on these districts. About 1700, a shell charged with a chemical agent [bojni otrov] was launched from Kromolje at Sip. Purple smoke caused by it has been spreading along the region between Kosevsko Brdo and Hum." Further on, Cengic says that "chetniks at Trebevic were shelling 6 April Square from 120-mm mortars and those stationed at Poljine were firing at Bare and Sip from a multiple rocket launcher, tank, and antiaircraft machine-guns shortly before we are sending our report. The enemy's heavy artillery in Donji Mrkovici is firing at Velesici and Hum."

In his report from the Sarajevo Security Services Center, Momcilo Dragicevic says that the "aggressor is firing shells from artillery pieces of all possible calibers," but that the worst situation is in Buca Potok. In Stari Grad, he says, the fiercest shelling is at Bascarsija. "From 1730 until 1800, more than 50 shells have fallen on this region. In the region of Centar, shells are falling at Kosevsko Brdo, Ciglane, Breka, and Brekin Potok. Antiaircraft machine guns and antiaircraft guns are also fiercely pounding the entire region of Centar. In Novo Sarajevo, one person was injured during shelling of Brace Ribar Street this afternoon. Along with the shelling, constant fire from infantry weapons is recorded in the direction of Pero Kosoric Square. Hrasno Brdo and Pofalici were shelled. In Novi Grad, the chetniks are not sparing shells in the region of (?Buljak) Potok and Buca Potok, and particularly Alipasino Polje Phase B and Phase C. Shells are occasionally falling on Dobrinja. We have been told by the Olympic Village Information Center that intensive shelling of the entire region started at 1800."

Reporting from Bosanski Brod, Adam Mustezanovic says that "the town was attacked from heavy howitzers five times today. About 15 heavy projectiles have fallen there." Further on, the reporter says that "particularly

ferocious attacks are again directed at the local community of Korace, where about 250 shells have fallen and damage is considerable. However, defense lines are firmly held. Today, about 50 shells fell on Novo Selo, about 30 on Kolibe, and about 15 on (?Sijekovac)."

Death Toll in Brcko Napalm, Gas Raid Reaches 42

LD1909174692 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] According to this afternoon's report from the Brcko press center, several groups of MiG-21 aircraft of the Serb Army of occupation attacked and bombed the free Brcko territory three times today using cluster and napalm bombs and guided air-to-surface missiles. They released poisonous gases in the last attack. Forty-two people were killed and 86 civilians were seriously or slightly wounded in the criminal attack of the airforce of occupation. Those killed include 20 women and eight children.

Around 3,000 Serbs "Missing" in Konjic

LD2109080592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1024 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Bileca, 20 Sep (TANJUG)—According to Serb military and civilian authorities, around 3,000 Serbs from the territory of the Konjic municipality are missing and the town is frequently mentioned as the place where the Serbs in Hercegovina suffer the most. According to these sources, most of the Serbs from this town have been imprisoned for a long time and many have been killed. The representatives of the International Red Cross Committee recently visited some of the prisons for Serbs in Konjic and in Celebici. They confirmed that more then 400 Serb civilians are present in these prisons.

Krajina Source Claims Muslims Slaughtered Croats

AU1909191892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 19 Sep 92

[Text] The Information Center of the Second Krajina Corps reports that the Croatian-Muslim coalition in Sarajevo appears to be rapidly falling apart. According to this military source, horrible slaughters of Croats, who were the Muslims' allies until recently, took place in Stup and Doglodi. It is difficult to say how many Croats were butchered. The Muslim side is afraid that the news will leak out, and that this will result in a definite split with Croats in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina leaving the Muslim side without the generous help which it has been receiving from Banski Dvori.

Shelling Continues; Epidemics Spreading

LD2009092992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Report by HINA correspondent Pejo Gasparevic from Sarajevo]

[Text] The chetnik offensive against Sarajevo, which has lasted for several days, continues this evening. Fierce infantry battles are being waged in Stup, where the defenders from the Croatian Defense Council [Hrvatsko Vijece Odbrane, HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces are firmly holding the Stup-Doglodi defense line.

Early this evening, in the area of the Stari Grad municipality, the center of Bascarsija, where in one hour alone 12 civilians were seriously wounded and one house was set ablaze, was heavily pounded from tanks, anti-aircraft guns, and cannons. A few shells landed in Vase Miskina street and in the very center of Sarajevo.

The districts of Brije sko Brdo and Sokolje were exposed to a heavy artillery attack by chetniks from the direction of Rajlovac. Attempting to save a wounded woman today in Vojvoda [Radmilo] Putnik street, a member of the second battalion of the Sarajevo HVO, Nino Karlovic, was killed by a sniper's bullet.

According to incomplete details, over the last 24 hours, from 1100 yesterday until 1100 today, 85 people were killed and 286 wounded in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The number of abortions is increasing rapidly. Over the last two months alone, 1,375 such cases have been recorded in Sarajevo, which is a third more than usual.

Epidemics are spreading. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, there are 6,156 people infected with enterocolitis, of whom 2,845 are in Sarajevo. For as many as three days, no humanitarian aid has come into Sarajevo, either by land or by air. Many storehouses have been emptied, and the last food supplies are running out. If nothing is done urgently, the citizens of Sarajevo will literally be dying of hunger.

Children are in the worst position. Bosnia-Hercegovina Prime Minister Jure Pelivan and UNICEF executive director James Grant were holding talks in Sarajevo today. It was agreed that aid to the youngest will be offered in winter clothes and shoes and in their medical care.

Tudjman Departs for New York; Makes Statement

LD2009081492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman left Zagreb's Pleso airport for New York an hour ago. Vladimir Kumbrija report:

Tudjman made the following statement prior to his departure:

[Begin recording] Above all, I am going to the United Nations General Assembly session to present Croatia's views on resolving the war crisis on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and on other world issues. I will also have meetings with Croatian immigrants in North America. Yesterday's decision by the UN Security Council was one in a series of diplomatic and political pressures on Serbia to make it abandon its aggression. [end recording]

Government To Revise Agreement With Slovenia

LD2109100992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] At its session today, chaired by Hrvoje Sarinic, the Croatian Government discussed the results achieved by the expert teams of the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia who have been working on an agreement which should provide guidance for overall mutual cooperation and for resolving current problems between the two neighboring countries. It is the government's stand that since early February, when the agreement was signed by the former government, the circumstances shaping it have changed considerably. This is why the government maintains that in the course of upcoming talks between top officials of Slovenia and Croatia this agreement should be thoroughly examined again in light of the fundamental interests of the two independent and sovereign countries.

Given the fact that in recent months there has been a growing number of complaints and suspicions regarding the regularity of work of administrative bodies in their implementation of endorsing citizens' rights of status, particularly in the course of issuing certificates of admission to Croatian citizenship, late inclusion in the register of citizens of the Republic of Croatia and issuing citizenship certificates, the government has set up a commission which will examine the work of these bodies and establish any case of possible negligence. The commission, including Internal Minister Ivan Jarnjak and Justice and Administration Minister Ivica Crnic, is chaired by Government Vice President Ivan Milas.

Serb Community Claims Human Rights Abuse

LD1809195392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Zagreb, September 17 (TANJUG)—President of the executive board of the newly-founded Community of the Serbian People in Croatia [name indistinct] Skoric said on Thursday [17 September] that it was difficult to be a Serb in Croatia today.

Violations of human rights and freedom of Serbs have increased in Croatia, as have attacks on their property and lives, said Skoric at a press conference in Zagreb. Skoric demanded of the Croatian state organs that they put an end to these activities and start functioning as a state ruled by law. The violation of human and national rights of Serbs in Croatia was recently pointed out in the Helsinki Watch report.

The basic goal of the community, founded four days ago, is to ensure the equality and the national identity of Serbs in Croatia, said Community President Borislav Arsenijevic. The community will be a social organization and will urge for the protection of civil and political rights of Serbs in Croatia, said Arsenijevic.

Before the war broke out in Croatia, 12 percent of the population were Serbs, according to Croatian data.

Representatives of the community said they were not satisfied with the way in which Serbs were represented in the Croatian parliament. Serbs should be allowed to choose their own representatives and not have them named and chosen seperately under a bad election law.

Community of the Serbian People in Croatia representatives believe that the public in Croatia regards the organizing of Serbs in Croatia with mistrust and suspicion, because the of war which is being presented as a war between Croats and Serbs. Serbian organizations are based on the Croatian Constitution and Law on Minorities.

After Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia, the Serbs in those areas of Croatia where they were the majority population proclaimed their own republic not wishing to be degraded from the status of a constituent nation to a national minority.

A great number of Serbs in Croatia in areas where they were the minority, and especially in the big cities, had to leave Croatia because they were being killed, their property attacked, they were being sacked, threatened and abused.

The European Community (E.C.) recognized Croatia after it gave special guarantees that the human and national rights of Serbs and other national groups would be respected.

Embassy To Open in Bosnia-Hercegovina

LD1809040292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The government has decided to open embassies of the Republic of Croatia in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Hercegovina; in Prague, Czechoslovakia; and in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Incidents Reported in UN Protected 'Pink Zones'

92BA1411E Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK
in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 92 p 7

[Article by Jadranka Klisovic: "Dangerous Pink Zone: Martic Forces Preparing for New Skirmishes?"—first paragraph is NOVI VJESNIK introduction]

[Text] Despite the presence of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] forces in the so-called pink zones, criminals continue to destroy Croatian churches and homes and to terrorize people as well.

Sibenik—Increasingly alarming reports have been arriving lately from the occupied parts of Sibenik and Drnis opstinas. A few days ago, two now-destroyed churches were targeted by Chetniks and terrorists, and while the Croats who have continued to live in the occupied regions of Drnis and Sibenik opstinas were receiving packages sent by family and friends under the mediation of the International Red Cross, houses were burning in the Drnis towns of Kricke, Mirlovic Polje, and Siveric. At the same time, according to reports from members of the Croatian Armed Forces back from reconnaissance missions, the enemy armed forces have begun moving heavy weaponry. On the road leading from Oklaj to Drnis, a column of 10 tanks and armored personnel carriers was observed, which is a sign that Martic's blue forces are preparing for new skirmishes.

This assumption is also supported by the latest incident in Miljevacka Ploca, an area that Martic's forces have never gotten over losing, and which continues to be attacked periodically by Martic's terrorists. Nor is there peace along the right wing of the front, in Sibenik opstina.

The town of Cista Velika has been leveled. For days, the sound of powerful explosions could be heard from that direction as dense smoke rose into the air. A Serbian house in the otherwise completely Croatian town was left intact. Sibenik military and civilian authorities received confirmation of the fate of the town from the UNPROFOR forces monitoring that region. When civilian authorities in Sibenik expressed interest in the situation in the town of Piramatovaca in the Skradin hinterland, they were told by a UNPROFOR representative that there are currently five people living there.

Thus, despite the presence of UNPROFOR forces in the so-called pink zone, Croatian churches, houses, and property continue to be destroyed, and people continue to be terrorized. These are mostly elderly individuals who have been unable to endure the difficult living conditions dictated to them by Martic's terrorists and local Chetniks, and it is known that some of them have been killed in a most atrocious way.

Few people in the Sibenik region place any hope in the response by Knin authorities to the appeal by Sibenik civilian and military authorities and by 10 local communities in the Sibenik hinterland that representatives of localities inhabited by a Serbian population should respond to the appeal for joint agreements and negotiations on a halt to military activities and the return of the population to their homes. Judging from the statements made on the airwaves of "Serbian Radio Knin," there will be no talks, because "why should we talk when we have thoroughly cleansed this region of Croats?"

A reconnaissance team from the 142d Drnis Brigade witnessed many tanks being moved at night in the rajons of Kricke and Gradac. The commander of the brigade notified the UNPROFOR command for the Southern Sector about this, and the allegations by the Drnis reconnaissance team were denied. In the words of the commander of the 142d Brigade, Roko Mijic, UNPROFOR officials are increasingly dragging their feet in carrying out the responsibilities required of them, but the real reason for this behavior is unknown.

From Mijic we also learned some details about the latest incident that occurred in the Miljevac region. For days on end, a group of Chetniks lined up cows around the occupied towns of Laskovice, Rupe, and on further toward Miljevac. Once the Chetniks had collected 12 or 13 cows, they tried to come for them in a truck, but they were noticed, and the Croatian police then returned fire and riddled the truck, which was in the Croatian police's zone of responsibility, with bullets.

UNPROFOR members then asked the Croatian side to allow the Chetniks to withdraw their truck from the Miljevac area. "Before they did," says Commander Roko Mijic, "they had to return all the stolen livestock to its owners, at our insistence."

Ethnic Hungarians Seek Help To Preserve Identity

LD1609110292 Budapest MTI in English 1810 GMT 15 Sep 92

[Text] Lendava, September 15 (MTI)—Although Slovenia's Constitution guarantees the conditions for ethnic Hungarians to preserve their identity, even by affirmative action, help from the mother country would still come in useful to prevent assimilation, Slovenian Hungarians said at a meeting with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz on Tuesday [15 September].

Speaking on behalf of 12,000 ethnic Hungarians in Slovenia, the representatives said their existence as a minority is determined by a triple linkage: To Hungary, to Slovenia, and to their narrower community, that of ethnic Hungarians.

Goncz, who travelled to Lendava on the first leg of a two-day trip to Slovenia, was greeted by Slovene President Milan Kucan. The politicians then held brief talks, after which Goncz met representatives of ethnic Hungarians in Slovenia.

Stressing the value of developing economic ties, the ethnic Hungarians asked Goncz and Kucan to help trade and set up regional [word indistinct]. Also, they mentioned the need for more border crossings.

According to Goncz, today it is difficult to preserve national identity. School plays a great part in the process, he said.

He said minority identity can be guaranteed by maintaining personal ties between citizens of the two countries and opening, even dismantling, borders.

"Once borders are open, trade can grow," he said.

Goncz termed Hungarians in Slovenia and Slovenes in Hungary "born bilingual," saying they could play a great part in fostering ties between the two countries.

In the evening, Goncz met with Slovene Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek. Later, he attended a gala dinner hosted by Slovenia's presidency member Ciril Zlobec, a renowned literary translator, in honour of Goncz and his wife.

German Envoy Discusses Slovene EC Integration

AU1809121392 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1700 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Mrs. Ursula Sailer-Albring, minister in the German Federal Foreign Ministry, is completing her visit to Slovenia. She held talks with our Foreign Minister Dr. Rupel and Dr. Pukl, vice-chairman of the Assembly. In the presence of the German ambassador in Ljubljana, (Gunther Seibert), she explained the purpose of her visit at a news conference this afternoon from which Matjaz Gerden reports:

[Begin recording] Mrs. Sailer-Albring is in charge of the relations with the EC in the German Foreign Ministry. Therefore, she discussed Slovenia's entrance into this European association of states with our representatives. She emphasized the very good relations between Federal German Republic and Slovenia. Germany will continue to assist our state, especially in the economic sphere.

Dr. Rupel briefed special envoy of German Foreign Minister Kinkel on the situation in the territories of the former Yugoslavia where the war is going on. Mrs. Sailer-Albring was particularly interested in the problems of the refugees. Therefore, she visited the refugees' center at Roska Street [in Ljubljana]. So far, Germany has done a lot for the refugees from the former Yugoslavia as it has paid 111 million German marks worth of aid for the refugees since the outbreak of the war. As winter is approaching the need to heat the refugees' centers will arise. Germany will send 1 million Deutsche marks aid to Slovenia for this purpose.

Mrs. Sailer-Albring at the end of the press conference emphasized that the German citizens have a positive attitude toward the refugees. Namely, the riots in the eastern part of this country were aimed primarily at asylum seekers. [end recording]

Federal

Panic Addresses Nation on Current Situation

LD2009184192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Address to the nation by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Prime Minister Milan Panic on 20 September]

[Text] My dear Yugoslavs:

Two months have passed since I took office as prime minister. Under normal circumstances, there would be no need for the prime minister to address the nation explaining what he has done so far. But our situation is extraordinary because we are living under sanctions and in isolation. Therefore, I considered it my duty to expound to you our analysis of the situation—what the government under my presidency has done so far and what it intends to do in the future.

First of all, I would like to say that I accepted Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic's invitation to come from America and become prime minister solely out of patriotic and moral reasons. For patriotic reasons because I had realized that the nation in which my roots lie needed me and that sacrifices were worthwhile, because, as Njegos [famous Montenegrin 19th century philosopher and ruler] would say, hardships reveal heroes. Many people told me I was really brave to have done what I have. But I realized it was a moral act. Basically, it was my moral duty to respond as a man who has not been involved in anything bad that happened in this country over the past few years.

My dear compatriots:

You know very well what has happened and what is happening here. But let us recall together certain conditions in which I took office as prime minister.

First, I became prime minister at a time when the country, as well as the whole system on which it was based, had fallen apart. Economic relations between the republics of the former Yugoslavia had broken up. That has brought the entire economy to a collapse, to which the Security Council sanctions contributed. The fall in production achieved a world record, as well as an increase in inflation.

Second, I found Yugoslavia in the worst economic and political isolation of its history. Fourteen severe sanctions put an end to our economic, political, cultural, sports, and traffic links with the world. We can say whatever we want, but it is an undeniable fact that Yugoslavia has stumbled. Yugoslavia found itself in a situation in which no other country in the history of mankind has found itself, including the countries that started the world wars and that were defeated in them.

It is now pointless to discuss who is to blame for the situation. It is also pointless to analyze whether the world has gone over the top with sanctions. That would only be philosophical chatting at a time when we are facing the brutal reality and the need to find a wise and realistic solution for our nation and our country. We have enough time in the future for everything we will consider necessary to discuss.

Third, two months ago I found Yugoslavia divided into political parties functioning in an undeveloped democracy with insufficient freedom of the press. I found a country that is not recognized by the world and that does not have enough accord to unite its efforts in order to overcome the isolation as soon as possible.

Fourth, I must say that as prime minister I faced the difficult situation in Kosovo: closed schools and colleges and generally ominous tension. Kosovo is, of course, a big problem, because ethnic cleansing of proportions unprecedented in our region took place as the consequence of the recent policy and because of strong separatism. Only a small percentage of Serbs and Montenegrins still live there, instead of a considerably higher percentage who lived there a few years ago.

Fifth, as a consequence of this difficult situation and the mood that prevailed when I arrived in Yugoslavia, almost the entire world was turned against us. Never in Yugoslavia's history has the world been almost unanimous in its critical attitude toward Serbs.

Sixth, and for me politically, humanly, and emotionally the most difficult issue: I came from America—the country that is economically prosperous and technologically ready for the 21st century—to a completely different milieu. I came to a country of rubble, explosions, decay, war, and sadness; to a country of tens of thousands of crippled youngsters; to a country with thousands of fresh tombs covering young people; to a country full of mothers and sisters wrapped in black scarves. In a word, I came to a sorrowful, insulted, and humiliated country. Actually, I came to only a part of the former Yugoslavia, a country of proud, capable, and brave people that had all the conditions to be a country of happiness, welfare, and good reputation.

I wanted, and I still want, as I said before I was appointed to this position, to be the prime minister of a nation—not of any political party. I received assurances that it was going to be like that, and I accepted the invitation. But I very soon realized something else. I realized that more than a few people expect Milan Panic to solve problems overnight, almost with a magic wand. I am aware of the fact that problems that were piled up for 50 years cannot be solved in 50 days. I think that I do not have to tell you that I am doing and will do all that is possible to make things as good as possible for us. I have no selfish interests in all this, since I am not interested in power struggles, and I am not looking for material gain.

I would now like to tell you briefly what I have done in the past two months. I will first tell you what I prevented from happening, and then what was done with my government's support.

First, I want to take this opportunity to say that a foreign military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina was being prepared for the end of June. As pretentious as it might sound, I prevented that from happening—although it was by a matter of hours—by my dramatic activity and quick and energetic action. We can now only speculate as to the consequences of that military intervention.

Second, the exact date of bombing Belgrade in the framework of punishing Serbia and Yugoslavia was set. There was a plan to destroy bridges on the Sava and the Danube and to cut off our capital. Then to destroy the military and air force base in Batajnica and other vital facilities in Serbia. They wanted Belgrade to remain in darkness for 10 years because it did not rise against the Serbian leadership. There are many other things that I managed to prevent. There is no record of it, of the achievements of the policy my government and I advocate. We do not have time to mention everything now. Instead, I will briefly mention several facts about what has been done.

Third, instead of the war as reality and as the omnipresent topic, we introduced peace talks and the practice of peace. In a word, peace and tolerance became my government's program.

Such a policy has to a large extent contributed to our influence on the events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and to a considerable reduction in war activities. This is all the more important because the early recognition of that republic flared up the war. We were asked to calm things down, although another recognized country was involved.

Fourth, I understood the above mentioned activities as part of the efforts aimed at removing the reasons that caused the implementation of the sanctions, rather than fighting against them. We know very well that we cannot declare war on the entire world, but we also know that we have to preserve national dignity. It is not simple in the least to realize both these things in the conditions in which we live. We managed, however, to remove most of the reasons for the sanctions, so we can tell the world now that we expect it to recognize that and to start easing and lifting the sanctions. I believe that will start happening soon, and my government's peace-loving and constructive stand has had a decisive role in that.

Fifth, my government has made considerable contributions in opening corridors for humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina by routes from Split and Belgrade, and via the Belgrade airport if needed. Thus we greatly contributed to easing the hardships of the suffering people of that former Yugoslav republic.

Sixth, Yugoslavia advocates the idea of introducing international supervision of the border between our country and Bosnia and Croatia, but also between Bosnia and Croatia. That was recently accepted at the London conference, and by that, as well as by our readiness to open our military airports for supervision, we thwarted constant attempts to accuse us of aggression. I believe this contributed considerably to the creation of a favorable picture of Yugoslavia in the world.

Seventh, we exchanged about 1,500 POW's with Croatia. Among those whom we ceded to the Croatians, there were also atrocious criminals whom the Croatian courts are obliged to put on trial. We let them go, otherwise we would have had to renounce several of our POW's in Croatia, including pilots. Obviously, they would be declared war criminals there. That is why our decision to exchange POW's according to the "all for all" formula was out of necessity, implying that it was sometimes even against our will, but it was realistic. The mothers who saw their sons when they returned from Croatia had happy faces. I saw that on television.

Eighth, we have established a dialogue with the Yugoslavs of Albanian origin in Kosovo. I am aware that the dialogue will be long and difficult, but it is better to negotiate for hundreds of years than to fight for one hundredth of a second.

We have also started a discussion to resolve the problem of education in Kosovo; in other words, to reestablish education in the Albanian language. The further process of the settling of affairs now depends on the wisdom of representatives of the Yugoslav Albanians.

This has all been done in a situation that is favorable for Yugoslavia. Peace is reigning in Kosovo, and the world admits that the status of Kosovo is our internal affair, and that we will not accept separatism and alterations to our borders. In brief, we have succeeded in making the world see and accept that Kosovo is an integral part of Serbia and Yugoslavia, and we will discuss the position of the Albanian minority within the framework of the highest international and domestic democratic norms.

Ninth, complying with the demands of the UN Security Council, we embarked on a process of recognition of the republics of the former Yugoslavia. In doing so, we confirmed what the Yugoslav Assembly decided in April—a long time before I became prime minister: that we do not have any territorial claims on our neighboring countries and that we do not wish to change the borders by force.

In that framework, we have dealt with the delicate issue of Prevlaka. We are on the best path to reach an agreement with Croatia on demilitarizing and putting under UN control that small peninsula that is strategically and defensively vital for us. My final aim is for Prevlaka to belong to Yugoslavia, because that is the only realistic and logical solution, but now we have time for peaceful negotiations on that issue. The most important thing is that we have avoided this problem from being tackled by force with fresh bloodshed.

This creates conditions for solving some other controversial issues with Croatia. The Belgrade-Zagreb highway is to be opened next week as a new step in the continuation of the negotiating process. Of course, the

talks on the position of Serbs in Croatia are ahead of us, and they will certainly be neither short nor easy, but I hope they will be successful. After that, we could agree on the establishment of diplomatic relations. We established diplomatic relations with Slovenia; that is, we recognized Slovenia. We will soon discuss that with Macedonia, and, when the conditions are right, with Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Tenth, we are resolutely working on the prevention of ethnic cleansing in our country's territory. That is an integral part of the stabilization of the conditions and democratic relations in society. I think we have already created an atmosphere in which all our citizens feel safe and masters of their own land. That is the best way for people to respect the state and contribute to its development, instead of bad nationalist passions leading to new tensions.

By this, we are gaining the trust of national minorities in the government, on which the stability of Kosovo, Sandzak, Vojvodina, and elsewhere depends to a large extent.

We are gaining the trust of the world owing to the fact that we are against all paramilitary units, particularly because we do not allow them to cross our borders. This is another condition for lifting the sanctions.

Eleventh, we broke most of the siege isolating us through an intense diplomatic offensive. Even though the world does not formally recognize us, I have managed to visit over 20 countries and met some 50 statesmen in this short period of time. The number is not an issue, but the fact is that we have convinced them we are working for peace and we need their support. There is no need for me to convince you that without such an offensive for peace the noose around Yugoslavia's neck would have been much tighter. Dozens of new sanctions, which would have been a real tragedy for our people, would have been introduced.

The offensive for peace has also enabled us to break the information blockade and present the world with a more realistic picture of us. This has contributed to the fact that the world no longer considers the Serbs to be the culprits for all the bad in the former Yugoslavia. This is also taking us closer to our aim of alleviating and lifting the sanctions.

I have much more to mention what has been done in two months. But here are just a few words about present and future tasks.

I am leaving for America this evening in order to fight for Yugoslavia's status in the United Nations. Those who saw me in the Assembly know that I know how to defend myself, and those who saw me in London know how I attack. You know very well that everything was ready for our humiliating expulsion from the organization. In order to avoid that, I expressed readiness to launch a procedure in our country for our Assembly to adopt a decision to apply for membership in the United Nations—there was no need whatsoever to stress that my government was not prepared to do it according to the Constitutional law—basically to ensure the continuity of our membership; i.e., to apply for membership in several months when all conditions four our automatic and unconditional admission are fulfilled. Our membership would not be terminated in the meantime. Last night's Security Council was in the same spirit, ensuring our continuous membership in the United Nations as well as normal activities by our mission in the world organization. It remains for me to discuss in New York to what extent we will participate in the current General Assembly session.

You know this approach has been met with a great deal of resistance. Some though that we ourselves were abolishing our statehood, that we were expelling ourselves, etc. I believe they should know that neither I nor my government has led Yugoslavia into this situation. It was precisely their policies and their way of talking to the world that has. They have been doing it for 100 months while they do not let me work in peace for as little as 100 days.

My principal aim at this moment is to have the sanctions lifted and to secure our dignified return to the international community. Then I would get far less involved in foreign policies as I would pay most of my attention to the stabilization of internal political and economic affairs, including the democratization of society, which implies freedom of the press. This is a pressing task since there can be no free elections—we are going to call them soon—if the press is not free. We must also concentrate on privatization to unshackle the people's initiative and enable them as well as our entire society to get rich. I seriously believe we are a potentially rich country and that we can in practice achieve this in a short period of time.

We are going to create opportunities for people to lead better and safer lives. They should be stimulated to work more and better to everyone's benefit.

We must concentrate on solving the question of foreign debts by repurchasing them. In this way the economy will operate without its old debts while we instill foreign lenders with trust, thus securing fresh investment in our economy. We would also create possibilities for the state to repay its debts to the citizens—hard currency savers—and to free itself from this stigma attached to it. Our banks would then restore their savers' trust so hundreds of millions of dollars would not be exchanged on the street.

In our meetings throughout the world, we are already creating the basis for the quick restoration of economic links that will follow the lifting of sanctions. We are already creating conditions for curbing inflation, which is now lower by 60 percent than in June. An integral part of these efforts is the stabilization of prices, pay increases, and a real rise in the standard of living, which is now at an alarmingly low level.

Dear fellow citizens:

We are going to accomplish all of this and a great deal of other things successfully only in an atmosphere of peace, freedom, and tolerance. That is why I expect all of you to be loyal to our state, because by working for it you will be creating your own happiness.

Everyone's destiny is in their own hands. Ours is in our hands. That is why we ought to work together to make our destiny better and secure as great a future as possible for ourselves and our children. Our country will succeed, not because it has had good politicians, but because it has clever, resourceful, and good people. That is why it has a future. Thank you for your attention.

Panic Comments on Sanctions, U.S. Ties

AU2009173392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Report on interview with Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic by Radovan Radovanovic in Belgrade on 20 September]

[Excerpts] Good day, our first question was about the sanctions. Prime Minister Milan Panic said that he was not sure that, however paradoxical this may sound, the people know exactly why the sanctions were introduced. Mr. Panic told us the following:

[Begin recording] [Panic] It is very important that we all work on the lifting of the sanctions. The sanctions can only be lifted if the entire nation understands why they were introduced and what we need to do for them to be lifted. The sanctions are not, as we said yesterday, a matter of hatred and do not mean that the entire world dislikes us, but are very specific. They consist of 14 points. I will mention only a few that I consider to be very important.

It is very important that we understand that the recognition of other states of the former SFRY is one of the conditions for lifting the sanctions. This is why I have been working very hard on the recognition of these states. Of course, at the same time we must think about the problems of Krajina, Kosovo, Bosnia-Hercegovina, Krajina in Croatia, and Prevlaka. I think that if these problems are solved one by one we will be in the position to [word indistinct].

I think that the people can help us, too. Where do I expect them to help? Some sanctions were introduced because we have paramilitary armies in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but since we do not have any control over them, this is over. We do not have to worry about that. This has been solved. But we must not have paramilitary armies in Yugoslavia which they think are going to Bosnia to reek havoc. This why I think that everyone should understand that Yugoslavia no longer needs paramilitary armies. In fact, not only does Yugoslavia not need them any more, but they are causing us problems with regard to the lifting of the sanctions. This is why we expect the Yugoslavs to help us and solve the problem of paramilitary armies, provide as much help as they can to our army and others who are working on the demobilization of paramilitary forces.

Another important thing that we should solve in Yugoslavia, because we cannot solve other countries' problems, is ethnic cleansing. We must understand that (?one of the reasons) for the introduction of the sanctions is ethnic cleansing and the (?swapping) of people in Yugoslavia, forcing people to leave one place for another, and the appropriation of their houses, which I myself consider illegal. The most important thing is to help me and the state in our efforts to have the sanctions lifted, to agree among ourselves and work together on putting a stop to the idea of ethnic cleansing. Those who contribute to ethnic cleansing work against their own country.

Another thing: We must offer help with regard to humanitarian aid. [passage omitted]

In my view, the statement in Moscow saved us, otherwise Yugoslavia would have been expelled. One very important thing [word indistinct] was the voting. It is known that Russia did not veto or even abstain. It did not abstain because it worked on the new resolution itself. The new resolution is considerably better for us than the one that was originally proposed by the EC. It is important that people understand that the resolution does not mean the expulsion of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the United Nations, but that its name will remain there, as will its right to take part in other organizations and to circulate documents.

The Chinese ambassador stressed that [words indistinct] would enable Yugoslavia to finally take its place in the United Nations. It is very important that people known that we were not expelled from the United Nations, that we only have to fulfill conditions for becoming a member of the United Nations.

[Radovanovic] Excuse me, are your hands not tied in the Assembly in Belgrade?

[Panic] No. I think [pauses] I believe in people, sometimes too much, as you know. I think that there are a number of clever people in the Assembly. I believe in people. When they understand the situation, they vote correctly. My problem in the Assembly is that the majority of them do not really understand the situation, and this is why their positions are based on ignorance, and then they add a bit of Serbian emotionalism and sarcasm, and then the satirists add their humor, and all this together does not look very pretty. [passage omitted]

[Radovanovic] You visited Herceg Novi yesterday. I suppose you were there with President Cosic. It is thought that you have agreed on the platform for appearing in the United Nations. Could you tell me how you see room for maneuvering in the United Nations, and what will be your main moves [words indistinct].

[Panic] First of all, as regards Mr. Cosic and my policy and his running of the country, we, as he said, discuss things, we work together, we agree, which is the most important thing, on what the policy of this country should be, what the course of this country should be. On my return from China, I was very happy and proud to read in the newspaper that he said exactly that. I think that it is fantastic that we have a Panic-Cosic team. Fortunately for Yugoslavia, this team is working. We agree, we discuss all matters. [passage omitted]

[Radovanovic] Could you, as a U.S. citizen, perhaps comment on the fact that the impression in the public is that the United States has acted too passionately in the Yugoslav crisis. Are there any specific reasons for this?

[Panic] I think that one of the main reasons for the current state of relations between the United States and Yugoslavia are our relations with the former Ambassador Zimmerman, who was a total fiasco. I think that he was not a good ambassador, and that we were not a good country for him. This was a desperate combination and a major reason for the current state of relations with the United States. In my view it was indeed a tragedy that he was here and that we did not know what to do with him.

After that, we made some promises to the U.S. Government which we did not fulfill. This led to the deterioration of the situation and then one day they gave up on us.

[Radovanovic] This was the sudden turnabout?

[Panic] This was the sudden turnabout in the U.S. policy, after helping Yugoslavia, the old Yugoslavia. As you know, Mr. Baker was in favor of that Yugoslavia, Mr. Eagleburger was in favor of that Yugoslavia, Mr. Bush was in favor of Yugoslavia, everyone was in favor of Yugoslavia, except the Yugoslavs themselves. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Panic Interviewed on UN Membership, Prevlaka

LD1709220392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic today said that Yugoslavia is facing the certainty of practically being expelled from the United Nations. For this reason, he opted to stop this by setting in motion an initiative to the Federal Assembly to adopt a statement of political intent that Yugoslavia is to re-apply for the UN membership. Panic said this in an interview for TANJUG, in which he also said in an answer about his stand on Prevlaka that a message from a conversation with journalists aboard an airplane was not fatefully reproduced so the impression was created that he had changed about the need for this tiny peninsula to be a part of the Yugoslav territory.

Milan Panic first answered a question about his visit to China and talks in Moscow. He said: "All these talks were successful. Chinese President Yang Shangkun and Prime Minister Li Peng gave me assurances that China supported and would support peaceful policies of my government and all efforts to overcome the Yugoslav crisis. I received the deep impression that the large country is our friend, that it will sincerely try to fulfil its promise, and that it will support Yugoslavia in becoming a member of the United Nations."

China believes that all former Yugoslav republics, including Yugoslavia, should be in the United Nations, because otherwise, the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis would be hampered. Likewise, it holds that the leaders of all former Yugoslav republics should seat at a negotiating table and start serious talks aimed at finding a solution to all controversial issues. It is also against a foreign intervention and pressures, and especially against a military intervention in Yugoslavia.

China's stands are welcomed because we can see that the whole world is not against us, that we are supported by this far away country in which every fifth citizen of our planet lives. To have such a country as a friend is important also because it has considerable influence in international relations. Of course, we do not expect that for the sake of that friendship it will use the veto against a possible unfavorable decision for Yugoslavia. Perhaps its friendly attitude, support, and efforts for a just decision have become more important morally. China adopted this stand fully aware that Yugoslavia has already met the majority of 14 conditions laid down by the UN Security Council resolution on sanctions.

Russia has a similar attitude. Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told me at Moscow airport yesterday that Russia will support our membership in the United Nations, realizing the importance of our presence for further activities aimed at resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

[TANJUG] "What motivated you to put forward the proposal that Yugoslavia reapplies for the UN membership?

[Panic] According to my deep conviction we do not have much choice. "The verdict" has already been prepared and it seems certain that it will be adopted. The formula of imposed "non-participation" or our public agreeing to abstain from UN activities, is practically tantamount to a pretty humiliating expulsion from this world organisation. This would mean that we would suffer insults in a debate and be told before the voting that the London conference and other gatherings have decided that Yugoslavia cannot be the only sucessor state of the former Yugoslavia.

Bearing all this and many other things in mind, including the stands and views of several big and influential countries, we opted for the idea that the government proposes to the Assembly to re-apply for UN membership. It is wrong to think that Yugoslavia should reapply as soon as tomorrow, even if our parliament were to endorse that. This is just a statement of political intent, and we will submit the application when the right

conditions are created. I expect that, in the meantime, the situation regarding our UN membership, will remain unchanged.

This means that I expect that the ending of the UN membership of the former Yugoslavia and the membership of the new Yugoslavia, the Federal Republic, will coincide. More importantly, this will mean the recognition of Yugoslavia, as well as the acknowledgment that reasons which brought about the sanctions, have ceased to exist. In other words, Yugoslavia will return with dignity to the world scene and will be accepted in the international community. I want to stress that the status of Kosovo, Vojvodina, and Sandzak is not a precondition for Yugoslavia's UN membership.

Whether this will happen depends greatly on us, that is, whether we will in unison and not through political quarrels remove causes of the sanctions, instead of constantly accusing the whole world of being against us. This means we must acknowledge that political disagreements brought about the country's disintegration and sanctions, that is, that we worked against ourselves and the people. Or put in other way, instead of culprits facing political and every other responsibility in front of the people and history, they are attacking.

[TANJUG] In this context, how do you view criticisms regarding your statement made in an airplane on the way to China that Prevlaka is "temporarily lost?" Why do you think it is lost?

[Panic] Above all I want to say that I am sick and tired of constant questions about what I expressed my political stand on several occasions. I do not want to blame journalists who reported my off the cuff remarks with them inaccurately but not—I believe—maliciously. When travelling, I am in the habit of spending a lot of time with journalists with whom I have frequent contacts.

The public should know that even before I was elected prime minister it was agreed with the Croatian authorities to demilitarize Prevlaka. My statements were in line with this and out of the wish that a war is not waged for this tiny peninsula and that a permanent solution should await better times. When I recently visited Prevlaka, I expressed my conviction that it should belong to Yugoslavia, since I realized that pile of stones under one square meter has no significance for Croatia, but it would give it a great advantage if it decides to launch an aggresion against Yugoslavia. For us, that is for our Navy and the Boka Kotorska Bay, this is the issue of life and death. In other words, it is a very important strategic and defense issue for our country.

Let me add to all this that the formulation that Prevlaka is "temporarily lost" should not surprise anyone. Demilitarization after all is not the final solution, nor will it mean that Prevlaka is ours. This issue will be resolved when passions ebb and when reason prevails over warlike sentiments which led us to the current agony.

[TANJUG] How do you explain the tense climate about this question and the question of UN membership?

[Panic] The policies of my government are the policies of peace, tolerance, and harmony; policy directed toward the welfare and the happiness of the people. My government, the people know that very well, did not bring about the end of Yugoslavia accompanied by an awful war and atrocities. It also is not responsible for the state of the economic system which fell apart. It did not bring about the sanctions and the largest isolation that any country in the world ever faced in the history. It is well known that the policies of former leaderships are responsible for this.

My government, the people know this very well too, is working for peace, for the elimination of the causes for sanctions and the isolation. I personally made a huge effort, with a diplomatic offensive, to prevent the military intervention in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the shelling of vital points in Serbia including Belgrade bridges and other facilities.

It seems that some people think that I should clear the way for them to continue their old policies which are not taking us anywhere good. Recently, they tried to topple me in the Assembly. Some are stating that they will do it again. Maybe that is why they are using Prevlaka to get into a feud with Montenegro which gave me firm support on the occasion of the vote of no confidence in the Assembly. I am working on the elimination of the reasons for the sanctions, to heal and to try to improve on what I found here while some forces are creating reasons for new sanctions.

Prime Minister Meets Serbian Opposition Leader

LD2009025192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Sep (TANJUG)—Prime Minister Milan Panic today received the chairman of the Democratic Party [DS], Dragoljub Micunovic, with whom he discussed the international status of Yugoslavia and democratic changes in the country, the DS Information Service has revealed.

"Micunovic stressed that the DS is giving full support to the Federal Government and its efforts to secure equal conditions for all parties ahead of the forthcoming federal elections, and noted a possibility of the creation of a broader bloc of the democratic center," the statement says.

Prime Minister Panic, as the statement stresses, said that the federal government is urging democratization of media as a necessary prerequisite for democratic elections and that he believes "that government efforts will come to fruition." Panic, the statement goes on to add, stressed that it was necessary to try to secure a more favorable state of Yugoslavia in the international organizations with democratic means. Panic and Micunovic

expressed the conviction that Prevlaka would remain within Yugoslavia, the statement says.

Ambassador Terms UN Action 'Dangerous Precedent'

LD2009154792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0945 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] New York, September 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has warned that the recommendation by the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council to ban representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the work of the General Assembly is a dangerous precedent which cannot but threaten the opened peace talks and encourage those who advocate the war option.

Yugoslav Ambassador Dragomir Djokic said in a letter to the U.N. Security Council chairman that such a recommendation was "a bad decision, politically unacceptable and legally unfounded." It will unavoidably threaten the peace process and encourage those who do not wish to give up the war option, he said.

The resolution is in collision with the principles of universality of the world organization. It is not in agreement with the democratic nature of the U.N. or with its role of keeper of the peace and a forum for equal cooperation among states and peoples. It is not politically justified, and it has no legal basis, the ambassador warned.

The articles of the resolution actually deny the sovereign right of peoples to preserve their own state and their international and legal existence in the case of the secession of a part or parts of their country, the letter said.

The Security Council resolution proclaims that the former Yugoslav federation no longer exists and that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is denied the right to succeed it in the U.N. Organization.

The Yugoslav ambassador recalled that the Yugoslav constitution proclaims its respect for the obligations taken over from the former Yugoslav state. While four former Yugoslav republics proclaimed independence and seceded from the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro opted to remain in Yugoslavia. In that sense, the constitution merely sanctions their will and the existing reality.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in no way tried to obstruct the admission to the U.N. and other international organisations of the former Yugoslav republics, Djokic recalled.

Yugoslavia underscored on several occasions that it has no territorial aspirations towards any of its neighbours and has always urged negotiations, the letter said. It is not by chance that the proposals contained in the letter of Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic to the U.N. Security Council chairman in August 1992 were accepted by the London Yugoslav conference as a basis for the resolving of the Yugoslav crisis.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is a reality whose equal and active role, including the one in the U.N., is necessary for securing a lasting and just solution to the Yugoslav crisis, the Yugoslav ambassador underscored.

The Yugoslav ambassador's letter was distributed to correspondents at the world organisation headquarters on Saturday afternoon, and it will be included among the official documents of the Security Council as of Monday.

President Reiterates Views on Prevlaka

AU1709202592 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Sep 92

["Excerpt" from interview with President Dobrica Cosic by Miodrag Popov in Prevlaka on 16 September—recorded]

[Text] [Cosic] I think that nobody except us (?and) our enemy that is trying to destroy us needs Prevlaka [Peninsula]. I hope that all those factors that are influencing the decision on the final delineation between Croatia and Montenegro will be peace-loving and prudent to the extent that they will consider the interests of both peoples, and that they will leave Prevlaka to Montenegro, that is to say the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, because Prevlaka really belongs to the Boka Kotorska Bay.

[Popov] I must remind you of two of your statements, because views on Prevlaka are constantly changing. As far as I remember correctly, you said, for instance, that Subotica, Novi Sad, and other towns are not defended there in those towns themselves, but are defended here in Prevlaka. Yesterday, that is to say the day before yesterday, you said that Prevlaka was virtually an organic part of Yugoslavia, the door to the house.

[Cosic] Yes.

[Popov] Do you adhere to this view?

[Cosic] I do, I stick to this view. Of course Prevlaka is an organic part of Yugoslavia, just as Boka Kotorska is the most beautiful part of our country with the most beautiful sea coast. It goes without saying that we must defend it. I hope that we will not defend it in any other way but with peaceful means, political means. I do not believe that there will be any need for any other kind of defense, except with peaceful, political means.

Political arguments are on our side, and not only political arguments, but also other arguments from the point of view maritime and international laws. The relevant factors will realize this and, I hope, respect it.

Minister Says No Food Shortage Expected

LD1709223492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 17 Sep 92

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 17 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will have enough food despite

the drought and the international blockade, Federal Agriculture Minister Ratko Lazarevic said on Thursday [17 September].

Lazarevic said the government would give agriculture priority in all stages of development. Food production must be the driving wheel of development, he added.

Lazarevic said the ministry would insist on intensive development of agriculture, with farmers as the mainstay, and not large socially owned complexes.

There is unutilized potential in the development of livestock breeding. The first task is to renew livestock numbers, reduced by many years of wrong moves in economic policy, Lazarevic said.

Kosovo

Rugova Interviewed on Conference Results

AU1809183992 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Interview with President Ibrahim Rugova by Bilal Kelmendi, special reporter for BUJKU and RILINDJA, in Geneva on 17 September—recorded]

[Text] [Kelmendi] At the end of the special conference on Kosovo, we asked Mr. Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the official delegation of the Republic of Kosovo that participated in these proceedings, to give us his opinions on this conference.

[Rugova] The conference on Kosovo, as the group dealing with the Kosovo issue calls itself now, ended yesterday. The most important thing was the meetings we held in the framework of this conference with its two cochairmen, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, who direct the Managing Committee founded precisely for the Geneva conference. I can say that we are satisfied with this meeting. It was very fruitful and open. We presented all the problems about the present critical and dramatic situation in Kosovo, also talked about the question of Kosovo's status. We presented our own views on the basis of the statements we have made and the policy we have followed so far, and I can say that we found complete understanding on all topics. What remains is that in continuation of the proceedings, we should further prepare and organize ourselves to be ready with arguments and various analyses to be able to find an adequate solution. This means that sooner or later we will set up a group of specialists and experts in various fields on Kosovo. They will prepare reports and deal with various conference topics. Now that the conference is over, we will participate in other valuable activities here in Geneva.

[Kelmendi] We would like to pose another question on behalf of our Tirana editorial office: According to reports by various news agencies, your idea on Kosovo's neutrality aroused great interest. Can you explain this idea to our listeners?

[Rugova] It is obvious and true and in the high-level meetings we held here, this idea found understanding. I must say that the project concerning a future Kosovo, that is, an independent and neutral Kosovo between Serbia and Albania, since both countries have their own interests, appears to me to be very acceptable. That is why we will do our utmost to realize this project. Of course, foreign and Kosovar experts will further elaborate it. In the framework of Balkan, European, and Albanian integration, the idea or project of neutrality would be a better solution for the present, and simultaneously also a long-term solution.

Montenegro

President Voices Support for Panic

LD2009161292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Zabljak, 20 September (TANJUG)—It is no use the Federal Assembly questioning confidence in Federal Prime Minister Panic at each of its sessions, Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin presidency, stated at a press conference today.

In this way Bulatovic responded to indications that the federal parliament will again discuss its confidence in Panic.

According to Bulatovic the constant raising of this issue is weakening Panic's negotiating position during his international talks. Bulatovic stressed that he is aware of the currently extremely difficult position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Responding to a question about Prevlaka, Bulatovic repeated the view that this peninsula should belong to Yugoslavia and Montenegro, but that this should be regulated in a peaceful way. He said that in a few days negotiations on Prevlaka should begin in Geneva. The negotiations should be based on a complex peace plan of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Bulatovic expressed his hope that the one-year war experience has persuaded Croatia that the conflict should be solved in a peaceful way.

I am very satisfied with what has been done so far concerning the solution of the Prevlaka problem, and I hope that we are on the way to a permanent and a just solution, Bulatovic said. He added that it is clear to everybody who looks at the map that Prevlaka is an integral part of Montenegro and Yugoslavia.

Bulatovic also spoke about the position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the United Nations and the political relations between Serbia and Montenegro. If the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is ousted from the United Nations, then there is no dilemma. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must be a member of the international community, Bulatovic said, warning that the whole situation should be assessed realistically and that the most rational decision should be made.

According to Bulatovic, as long as the current ruling party is in power, there will be no attempts to reassess the political relations in Yugoslavia, i.e. Montenegro's position in it. Momir Bulatovic added that the forthcoming elections will show the political mood regarding this.

Macedonia

Greece Sets Condition for Oil Supplies

LD2009161792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT 20 Sep 92

[Text] Skopje, Sept 20 (TANJUG)—Greece will as of Sunday [20 September] allow oil deliveries to Macedonia only if the respective documents and stamps contained the formulation "the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia," instead of "the Republic of Macedonia."

The Skopje daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA said on Sunday the Greek request was based on an E.C. instruction, saying the E.C. countries could trade with Macedonia only as the "former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia."

Official Athens described the instruction as the E.C.'s "solidarity with Greece" and said it "prevented that the name Macedonia, used by the regime in Skopje, be legalized in Europe."

The E.C. has not yet recognized Macedonia because of Greece's demand that the former Yugoslav republic should change its name.

Greece Denies Violating Macedonian Air Space

LD1909004392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2302 GMT 18 Sep 92

[Text] Athens, Sep 18 (TANJUG)—Greek Defence Minister Ioannis Varvitsiotis on Friday [18 September-]evening denied Macedonia's allegations that Greek military planes violated its air space during the recent Greek military maneouvers.

The maneouvers, named "Philip the Second Macedonian" were held only six km away from the northern Greek border.

Closing the maneouvers, Varvitsiotis expressed "deep regret" over "Skopje's" allegations and said that Greece, whose air space has also been violated by an "eastern country" (Turkey), "didn't violate their air space now and has not done so in the past either", it was reported in Athens on Friday evening. He failed to specify what kind of allegations of Skopje were in question.

Macedonia also claimed in early December last year that Greek planes, and later a sports plane, flew over the Macedonian border. Athens failed to react officially, while the pro-government press wrote of Skopje's suspicious games.